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THE SOUTHERN PARTISAN

Volume 3 Number 3 Summer 1982

Is ERA Dead?

Phyllis Schlafly Interview

Citizens or Subjects?

By Clyde Wilson

ALSO: How Red was John Reed?/J. Evetts Haley & the South/ The Decline of the American Catholic Church Part II Where We Stand on Liberty/The Hinkley Verdict/ and more...

In earlier epochs, a critic tormented only the writers...

Of all the cants which are canted in this canting world—though the cant of hypocrites may be the worst—the cant of criticism is the most tormenting.

Laurence Sterne

In ours, he torments everybody.

Recently a middle-aged father published a book about his sordid adventures in massage parlors, wife-swapping communes and the worlds of easy sex and prostitution. The critics were grateful to Gay Talese. *Newsweek* said that "Talese's research has an awesome solidity about it." *Vogue* was proud of ". . . Gay's triumph over the puritanical strictures of Ocean City, strictures that so inhibited him that he didn't even masturbate until his second year in college." And the *Chicago Tribune* – a newspaper respectable primarily in its own eyes—turned its enthusiasm into promotion by running excerpts of *Thy Neighbor's Wife* for Chicagoland families to read.

The state of literary criticism today strongly confirms Laurence Sterne's warning: the cant of criticism *is* the most tormenting. To make things worse, the modern media have transformed the critic into a midwife of mass consciousness. Regardless of what we wish to know or ignore, we live with cultural events and their consequences —as interpreted by the modern critic. Sadly, what passes for "cultural criticism" in *Time, Esquire, Chicago Tribune, Ladies Home Journal,* et al., amounts to an elitist, moral shoddiness.

The Critical Difference

In *Chronicles of Culture,* we feel there is a need for a counterpoise to those who judge cultural offerings without giving any thought to the impact of messages which are liberated from all codes of moral and intellectual responsibility. We firmly believe that culture, books, movies, behavioral trends—their meaning and success—deeply affect man's preferences and, consequently, his sense of moral and social order. We are not timid when we confront the liberal cultural cant. *The National Review* remarked that we, *"Go for the jugular. . . . Chronicles* reports on the reporters, and reviews the reviewers. Its verdicts have not been kind."

The Critical Response

In every issue, we challenge the dominant cultural establishment on what it preaches about culture, politics and social matters. Malcolm Muggeridge observed that ". . . in *Chronicles of Culture* the Consensus assumptions—that the *New York Times* is a great newspaper, that the South Africans are uniquely the villains of our time, that President Reagan is an idiot, that all good men and true build their hopes on disarmament talks with Mr. Brezhnev, etc. etc. etc.—are blissfully absent." Tom Wolfe said about our work, "It has been a pleasure to watch Leopold Tyrmand and the *Chronicles of Culture* confront—à la Orwell—the smelly little orthodoxies of our time." And from the *London Times,* ". . . it is a relief to receive an American publication which puts forward another view. . . . [*Chronicles*] displays a pleasantly open and ironic position. . . . Who, among the liberal monopoly of power in this sphere, will reply to Tyrmand?"

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THE SOUTHERN PARTISAN

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VOLUME 2, NUMBER 3 SUMMER 1982

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A Publication of the Foundation for American Education

PUBLISHER
Charles Scott Hamel

EXECUTIVE EDITOR
Richard M. Quinn

EDITOR
Thomas Fleming

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Clyde N. Wilson

WASHINGTON EDITOR
Samuel T. Francis

MARKETING DIRECTOR
Wayne Adams

ART
Karis Hallman Ginny Wessinger

COVER
Ron Chapiesky

ADVISORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

M.E. Bradford
F. Reid Buckley
William F. Campbell
Allan D. Charles
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Robert Drake
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PARTISAN LETTERS

Some of Our Best Friends...

Just received my first copy of *Southern Partisan*. I enjoy reading it very much. Would like to ask two questions.

Question one: Could you print articles on the Civil War, starting from the first light of secession?

Question two: Were there at the time of the Civil War any Northerners who were loyal to the South? Also, what states West of the Mississippi were for the North and what states were for the South?

"Butch" Bruno
Rochester, New York

Dear Mr. Bruno:

1. We have and will continue to print good articles on the late War of Southern Independence when we can.

2. During the Civil War there were tens if not hundreds of thousands of Northerners who were sympathetic to the Southern cause. Not so much because they were loyal to the South as because they were loyal to the genuine understanding of the Constitution. What happened to them? By the thousands they were arrested by the Federal Army, held without habeas corpus for months and in defiance of the Supreme Court, and forced to sign oaths of loyalty to Abraham Lincoln. Our associate editor, Professor Clyde Wilson, reports that he has been working for some years on a book, "The Northern Man of Southern Principles," which will tell the whole story.

—The Editors

Carpet-Bagging In Reverse

I have recently received the Spring 82 issue of *Southern Partisan*. I would have been attracted by the name alone, trapped in Chicago carpet-bagging-in-reverse, but to my great pleasure found a refreshingly good publication that well fits the name.

Clyde N. Wilson's "Concurrent Majority" observations anent President Reagan's seeming inability to throttle the Establishment Republicans are acute, and deserving of widespread consideration. There is nothing new in RR's plight, unfortunately. We have witnessed the same successful cooptings and corruptions with Robert Taft, Nixon (when he was chasing down Alger Hiss & Co.), Goldwater and now Ronald Reagan. Aided by the "objective" *New York Times, Washington Post* and such network television "intellectuals" as Walter Cronkite, the Great American Public, en masse a not billiantly perceptive entity, has been smothered from all sides with paeans of praise for "humanistic" centralism, economic and political...

Alas, sometimes I wish I could emulate my kinsman, General John Bankhead Magruder, who marched away to join Maximilian rather than live under Reconstruction. Unfortunately, there's no where to go to escape our present day Reconstruction.

Congratulations on a fine publication. But please, Gentlemen, don't make it so attractive that, when at last I return home, I will find my South totally over-run with Yankees!

Cordially,
James L. Magruder
Chicago, Illinois

Falwell Faulted

I thoroughly enjoyed my first issue of the *Southern Partisan* (Vol. II, No. 2), and look forward to a long association with your fine publication.

In the Jerry Falwell interview, you quote him as saying that support for Israel is one of the two points which validate the "pro-American" plank of the Moral Majority platform. I have been bothered for years by the tendency of some who call themselves conservatives to identify pro-Zionism as a litmus test for "true conservatism." I am a conservative, a strong pro-American and I find Zionism abhorrent and condemn it for its many crimes against the Palestinian people.

By what twisted logic does Falwell arrive at the conclusion that support for Israel equates with American patriotism? He would have us give our whole-hearted support to a government which: A. continues to provide substantial support (along with the Soviet Union, Libya, and Syria) to the Islamic Republic of Iran, prolonging instability in the Middle East; B. recklessly increases the probability of a major war by its expanionist policies; and

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C. carried out a vicious and bloodthirsty attack on a U.S. Naval vessel (the U.S.S. Liberty) on June 8, 1967, repeatedly assaulting the helpless ship with fighter-bombers, rockets, automatic cannons, and torpedoes, resulting in the deaths of 34 sailors and the maiming of more than a hundred others...

Falwell would do well to reevaluate his support for Israel or be prepared to take a seat beside Billy Graham. Such naivete becomes neither of these gentlemen and will do nothing to help the United States.

Very truly yours,
Thomas L. Filkins
Manassas, Virginia

Read All Over

With each issue of the *Southern Partisan* it becomes harder to lay it down without reading it from cover to cover. I take particular pleasure in reading the essay section.

Recently (Spring 1982), Martin L. Wilson's article "Growing Up Redneck" brought out many important facts. In a somewhat polite manner, Mr. Wilson says, "Perhaps my greatest difficulty was accepting the discovery that the determination to drive old Dixie down was being aided and abetted by many a good old boy (and gal) down here."

He is absolutely correct. There is no word which describes them better than scalawags. These unprincipled individuals have sold their heritage to the *lowest* bidder. Some are television personalities, some college professors, others political opportunists, all are despicable.

It's time we stopped apologizing and started standing tall in our conservative agrarian heritage.

George L. Hargrove, Jr.
Lieutenant, U.S. Navy
Newport, Rhode Island

Evocative Oaths

I was elated by the *Partisan*! With the exception of J.R. Vanover's vocabulary (his oaths are evocative, but will offend many), I read with approval and, at times, excitement.

Fraternally,
The Reverend Daniel C. Coleman
Gotha, Florida

Southern Comfort

Recently I received my first copy of your most delightful magazine, and I have read every word in it which is something of a chore when one is ninety.

My heart goes out with thanks that this intelligent, encompassing work goes from our Southland.

From the earliest days my people have been here, good patriots and always good Southerners.

For a long time I have felt the last bulwark of culture was what remained in South Carolina. In a time of eroding principles over the world may South Carolina remain.

Thank you,
Catherine Martin
Panama City, Florida

Without A Flinch

Thank God for the *Southern Partisan!* I mean that literally. Ever since I realized that we were still under Reconstruction, I have prayed every day that the South might survive somehow still herself. Your magazine is the first tangible evidence that she may be doing it. Imagine! a publication where you can speak Southern without flinching.

Yours gratefully,
Peggy Felicity Allen
(Mrs. Ward S. Allen)
Auburn, Alabama

The Watchman

You have the courage to condemn the current philosophy of the Catholic Church. Also, you correctly identified Transcendentalism as a heresy. The eastern world establishment is anti-Christian... also it took wisdom on your part to condemn *The Washington Post*... The Bible (Ezekiel 8) states that the watchman is responsible for warning the public. If he does not, the blood of the innocent will be on his hands.

Robert Severino
Hillsdale, New Jersey ⊠

We welcome correspondence from our readers. Please address your letters and all other manuscripts to:

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for•ti•fy/*vb*
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WHERE WE STAND

"On Liberty"

From time to time, we receive letters from readers asking what exactly it is we stand for. "Are you conservatives or libertarians?" and "Is there more to the South than fried chicken, nice manners, and the novels of Flannery O'Connor?" and even, "By standing up for the Old South aren't you defending Racism?"

Actually, it had not occurred to us that we needed to spell out our convictions. A healthy distrust of explicit statement and abstract ideology is part of the Southern character. Even so, the time has come—even at the risk of talking like Yankees—to begin outlining what we mean by the Southern political tradition. The editors propose a series of short essays in definition on a number of different aspects of Southern thought. While "the opinions expressed" are those of individual writers, they will be—we believe—representative of a healthy segment of Southern opinion.

Andy Jackson's famous toast, "The Union—it must and shall be preserved," is still recorded in most high school U.S. history books. Calhoun's once equally famous reply, "Next to our liberties, most dear," has slipped out of many recent editions. Like most of the South, Calhoun was on the losing side of the liberty versus union debate. After the Second War for Independence was lost, the winning side up North has consistently preferred the claims of the Union government to those of individual liberty.

The Liberty which inspired Jefferson, Calhoun, and Davis was, at least in part, the conviction that power is like water: it seeks its own level. A healthy society is one that exercises an economy of political force; it solves family problems at the family level, local problems at the local level, and state problems at the state level. It will reserve the Federal Marshals, Supreme Court decisions, and *lettres de chachet* for problems that *directly* affect the nation as a whole. States Rights is only a particular affirmation of this general principle, one that is strongly rooted in the love of liberty. We do not need our states to tell us how to rear our children, and we do not need the Congress or the Supreme Court to tell how to run things in Alabama or South Carolina, even when we are wrong. It was part of the Southern wisdom that the government which governs least governs best.

For the South, liberty was not a libertarian repudiation of standards. Every community has the right—no, the obligation—to set up and enforce a code of principles and behavior. Toleration of dissent does not require a neutral attitude toward vice, as Michael Novak has argued recently. If a pluralistic approach to questions of right and wrong is the hallmark of "democratic capitalism," then the South has managed to stand outside the orbit of capitalism and democracy. Even so, the principle of "least government" has caused most Southerners to refrain from interfering in private lives. In the midst of drawing up Blue Laws and legislating morality, we are usually careful to restrict the role of government to the public sphere. While New England Puritans were eager to spy on the private lives of citizens, sniffing out sabbath breaking and moral turpitude, Southerners have usually chosen to ignore what goes on between consenting adults, so long as it did not become a public scandal. Prohibition provides a good example of the Southern attitude toward "vice." The same people who supported dry legislation were often known to take a nip, now and then, with friends. You can call it hypocrisy or simply the frank recognition that the government's enforcement authority stops at the front door.

Southern political life has always been redolent of these "paradoxes of freedom:" all those dry counties with thriving moonshine operations, the slaveowners who twice went to war to preserve their liberty, and the hard shell Baptists who knew good and well that there was something a little funny about Cousin Seymour, but who would fight you if you said anything about him. Liberty has its paradoxes, because it is not an abstraction: it is something concrete, a chain of privileges and obligations which has been forged by generation after generation of Englishmen and Americans. It is not the same liberty enjoyed by the French or the Arabs, because it does not come naturally. A *People* has to earn it. They have to fight for it.

An understandable disgust with the cheap slogans of natural liberty and equality led many Southerners to the conclusion that it was dangerous to talk about the rights of man, the abstract rights that had been deified by Locke, Rousseau, and Jefferson. It brought George Fitzhugh, a gentle Virginia lawyer, to the realization that civilization was based on loyalty and obedience, not on the "desire for liberty" which inspired "Satan and his fallen angels." The free and ruthless competition of the Northern states found its best expression in Benjamin Franklin, whose "sentiments and philosophy are low, selfish, atheistic, and material." Still worse, the practice of unrestrained liberty and equality leads inevitably to socialism, where our real rights—to maintain a family, practice religion, and hold property—are destroyed.

So it was, in the nineteenth Century, the Constitution was broken, the richest section of the nation devastated by war and subjugation, and all power put into the hands of plutocrats and corrupted politics—all in the name of freedom. The same process has been repeated in our own time—the same theatrical gestures and political corruption, Abscam and Voting Rights, the guardians of our liberty taking liberties with Senate Pages.

It is not voting that keeps a people free, but stubbornness—a man's determination to manage his own affairs, take care of his own family, and keep his own Counsel When we have lost that stubbornness—as many Americans have already—the "right" to vote will mean no more here than in the Soviet Union—the right to collaborate with your oppressor.

—Thomas Fleming

OBITER DICTA

Virginia's State Song...

Virginia's state song, "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," has been ordered removed from state travel brochures because of its reference to "darkey" in the line: "There's where the old darkey's heart am long'd to go." The song, composed by black New Yorker James Bland, has been a durable part of the Virginia consciousness for generations and a recorded version by Alma Gluck sold nearly a million copies. Now, the state travel office deems its traditions unfit for public distribution. Never mind that the author tried to represent dialect as he heard it in the post-war South.

In the liberal brave new world, unpleasant aspects of history must be expunged, treated as though it never happened...though the same people never cease to hold modern Southerners guilty for the institution of slavery. Though there have been complaints about the song before, director Frederick Walker admitted his unprecedented cheek in removing the song was possible because he felt LBJ's son-in-law (Governor Charles Robb) would support him. He was right.

Walker magnanimously offers to send the state's official song to those who specifically request it. Write him at the Department of Conservation and Economic Development, 6 North 6th St., Richmond, Virginia 23219.

Uncle Cam

When William Cameron Townsend (1896-1982) passed away this year in little Waxhaw, North Carolina, near Charlotte, people of many nations and many religions came to mourn or sent messages. Some were figures of political prominence, such as the presidents of Peru and Colombia, and Billy Graham. Others were far from being celebrities, but their lives had been touched by the old missionary who was founder and retired general director of the Wycliffe Bible Translators, a group dedicated to translating the Bible for the many small tribes of Latin America and the rest of the world who lack direct access to God's Word. Working right now on 735 languages, the WBT aims at reaching some 3000 additional minority tongues. It is perhaps not surprising that the broadest "outreach" and most effective "foreign aid" for the poor of other lands does not come from Harvard, Berkeley, or the Peace Corps, but from those regions and peoples of America where the traditional religion and character of our nation survives most strongly. Readers of Graham Greene's *The Power and the Glory*, are aware of the anti-clerical pogroms of 'thirties Mexico. Uncle Cam had visited the leaders of that movement and forty years later one of them remembered the role the American missionary had in making him a Christian and a Bible reader. And yet the large vision and many projects did not keep Uncle Cam from smaller missions. Winter and summer, he was ready with a drink, hot or cold, for the workers collecting the garbage. Could the true roots of courtesy and love, of international understanding and respect for the thousands of languages and cultures of our world lie hidden deep in love and respect for one's own culture and religion? "They say such different things at school."

Media Bias

Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman at Columbia University stirred up a hornet's nest lately when they published the results of their study of the "media elite"—the reporters, writers, and editors who help set the public agenda of the nation. This elite, as they describe themselves, is massively liberal or Left-leaning, although—ominously—they believe that most of their colleagues are more leftist than they are. Half described their religion as "none." Only 6% regularly attend church or synagogue. (Nearly a quarter were reared in a Jewish household, among them we may include Geraldo Rivera, according to last year's *TV Guide.*) 86% say they rarely or never darken the door of a house of worship. The implications are clear. When faced with news where religion is central to correct interpretation, such as the events in Iran or Poland over the past two years, these people have no idea what is going on. And not just in foreign lands. The largest rally in U.S. history, the 1980 Right to Life march on Washington, was a non-event. James Watt's Christianity is treated as a weird cultic obsession. It is not just Iran! These characters can't figure out the vast majority of the United States.

IRS: You Can't Leave Home Without It

The Roman Empire at its most far-flung was no match for the Internal Revenue Service of the United States government.

One might expect to have one's pleasure at viewing the majesty of Notre Dame spoiled by the knowledge that there is an IRS Office in Paris. But wait. Look a little more closely and one will discover a cancerous network of IRS outposts across the frontiers of the world, stretching from Rabat in Morocco to Khartoum and Djbouti in East Africa, across the Red Sea to Sana in North Yemen and Jeddah in Saudi Arabia.

In short, wherever Americans can be found anywhere in the world struggling to make a living, there too can be found the IRS waiting to take a bite.

Falklands: The Selective Will To Win

The Falkland War arouses varied reflections. Southerners, with their British heritage, have always had and still have an affection for the Mother Country and the majesty of her laws, her language, her literature, and her ways of life. We have to keep reminding ourselves that Britannia, alas, is naught but an empty shell of her former self—a magnificent shell, it is true, still capable of putting on a splendid show, but nonetheless an empty shell.

The British government that is so exercised over the self-determination of a few hundred sheepherders on the Falklands is the same government that turned over the fair land of Rhodesia—along with a quarter of a million British people, men, women, and children— to a gang of "Marxist guerillas," the current African euphemism for savages. The same British government (with far less excuse than America, which, after all, has a huge minority problem as a result of slavery and a tradition of open borders) is now abetting national suicide by its lack of the simple courage and honesty to face the problem of immigration.

We need to remind ourselves, also, that Argentina is only being whipped around because it has a rightist government. Argentina is doubtless far from a perfect society by (hypocritical) Anglo-Saxon standards. And it committed an egregiously foolish act by its attack on the islands. Still, if Buenos Aires were under the control of a pack of Castroites, the islands would have been surrendered without a shot. It is only because Argentina has been read out of the world liberal community that it is under attack. And it has been read out of the world liberal community only because the government has tried to cultivate a sense of nationalism and Christianity in its people and to suppress leftwing terrorism.

Family Reunion

The cream of Southern writers and thinkers gathered this spring at Converse College in Spartanburg, South Carolina, for a literary reunion. Present were Andrew Lytle, Cleanth Brooks, George Garrett, Peter Taylor, and Eudora Welty, who regaled a large and enthusiastic audience of students and townspeople with readings from their works and informal discussions of Southern literature.

The highlight of the two-day gathering was a roundtable discussion between all of the principals except Miss Welty, on the South. Peter Taylor, one of America's greatest short-story writers recalled how William Faulkner's *Absalom Absalom*, considered by many today as *the* American novel, was first received by New York critics: it was officially opined that the book had been written by a crazy man. Taylor went on to describe what he feels Southern literature is all about: it is a struggle to humanize modern life by understanding it and reconciling it with the Christian tradition of the West. No small task, but one which Southern writers have mastered.

Cleanth Brooks, one of America's greatest literary scholars, commented on today's culture. The students of today are, he fears, outside Western civilization. They are equally cut off from both the old traditional oral culture of the West and from the written high culture. According to Brooks, the three bastard America muses hold sway in literature. These are Sentimentality, Propaganda, and Pornography, the latter a billion dollar industry predicated upon the unwillingness or inability of Americans "to see reality as a whole." And only the writers of the South still have the cultural base to see the present situation for what it is, rather than to be a part of it.

The key to Southern literature, Andrew Lytle (perhaps the greatest living practitioner of Southern literature) told the assembled audience, is that it is still Christian and still has a Christian grasp of the reality of evil. The Southern tradition is squarely at odds with the Puritan or Northern tradition. The Puritan puts evil in the object—whiskey, a gun, a bad environment, etc.—rather than in the human heart. Once evil is projected into the object, the Puritan is able to justify to himself his right to attack and reform others in the name of his own sanctity. This reduces to a disguised form of a will to power. What the Puritan wants is not salvation but power. He is, in the final analysis, a minion of the Devil.

George Garrett, poet and novelist, described with some relish the economic and cultural decay of the once powerful Northeast and declared his belief that, judging from the youngest writers just coming on the scene, Southern literature is still great and still Southern and will continue to be for a long time.

Hollings For President

Fritz is on the move.

The Senator from South Carolina (who a few years ago discovered the existence of poverty in the South) has recently built himself a fancy vacation home on an exclusive island resort. Locals are calling the place "The Little White House."

And Senator Hollings vigorously denies any ambition for the number two spot on a regionally balanced ticket (e.g. Kennedy-Hollings or Mondale-Hollings). He says "That's not for me. I want to run the show."

Seems like Lyndon Johnson said something like that back in 1960 when he was building his Presidential campaign against a Senator John Kennedy. So it goes.

A Prophecy

Donald Davidson to Allen Tate, 5 February 1927:

"My impression is that the people who are of your opinion and mine and John's about things Southern are few and far between, and furthermore of little influence. If there were a Southern magazine intelligently conducted and aimed specifically, under the doctrine of provincialism, at renewing a certain sort of sectional consciousness and drawing separate groups of Southern thought together, something might be done to save the South for civilization.... Where can we join up, with our mysterious doctrine of provincialism? Still, I believe in agitating. The losing cause is not always the better one, but it is in this case."

On The Death Of John Ashbrook

In the little Baptist church he helped to build, and where he sat every Sunday, the funeral of John Ashbrook was held. As part of the service, they played "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Tears running down my face, I almost smiled. I could just see John's enormous grin, as he made me sit through it.

Ohio was a Union State, and John Ashbrook was an Ohioan. And he did enjoy watching me squirm through "Battle Hymn." Each one of the thousand or two people there had a very personal feeling about how John would have looked at him, laughed with or at him. To those who knew him formally, he was "John." To Johnstown he was "Johnny."

John grew up in Johnstown, went to Harvard, and came back to champion his country, his State, his home town, and the little Baptist church against those at Harvard who loathed them.

Before Harvard, he did a hitch in the Navy, as a storeroom clerk on Admiral Byrd's last expedition to the Pole. He didn't write about that, but he did put together a little book on the history of Johnstown High School. John was a provincial, and as one he trusted to do his writing, I can testify that he knows just what I mean by that, and loves the description.

For twenty-one years, he returned from Washington every weekend to his home town and his church. He was always exuberant on the way back to Ohio, and unhappy to return to Washington. John was simply uninterested in anything the establishment, liberals or their pet conservatives, could offer him. As a result, they could not deal with this ferocious opponent of anyone he saw as an enemy to his country, his church, his State—to his own people and their way of life.

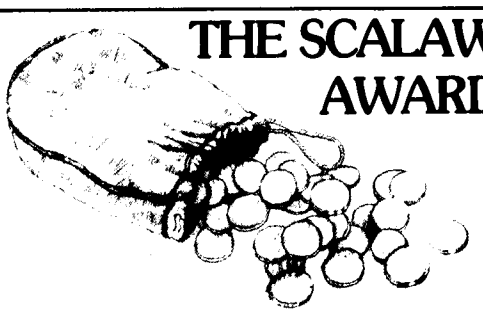
To the last, he remained an alien to the aliens who rule America. John was without a shred of concern for the opinions of those who made up our liberal ruling class and their established "opposition," and they hated him for it. No other kind of bigot can hate anyone foreign to it more than can our "cosmopolitan" rulers.

To express its hatred, the *New York Times* used its obituary to call him "a champion of lost causes." Leftists freely excuse those who desert their cause, as neoconservatives, to be on the winning side. But John was no accommodator, he was an unapologetic defender, regardless of consequences, of the Middle America which stands in the elitists' way.

As to winning or losing, John stood for his own people and their beliefs. If that cause lost, he would lose with it. The left cannot forgive a man for having that absolutely indispensable quality Solzhenitsyn underlines again and again in *The Gulag Archipelago:* "an individual point of view." That is a trait which no ruling group, in Moscow or in New York, can tolerate.

He loved America, and was beyond the reach of any other influence. That was the mystery and the terror of the huge red hurricane of a man we lost. He earned the grief of those he respected, and the last-ditch bigotry of those who hated him.

—Robert W. Whitaker



THE SCALAWAG AWARD...

This issue the Scalawag Award goes to the members of the United States Senate from the South who voted on June 17, 1982 to force Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina off his feet as he courageously fought to block passage of one of the worst pieces of federal legislation in our lifetime.

The gag rule was invoked by a vote of 86 to 8 on the debate of the new "Voting Rights" Act which will give to the Federal District Court in the District of Columbia power to determine electoral composition of virtually every town council, state legislature and Congressional District in the South, thus extending the "Second Reconstruction" initiated by the Warren Court for another 25 years.

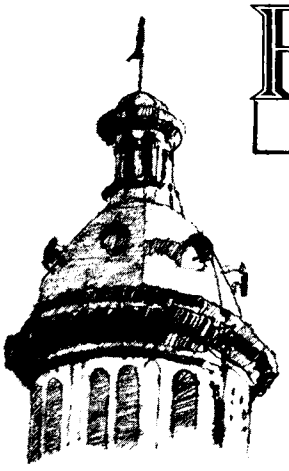
Those voting against the cloture motion included only Virginia's two Senators Harry F. Byrd and John Warner, Alabama's Jeremiah Denton, Mississippi's John Stennis and North Carolina's John East in addition to Senator Helms. Two non-Southerners James McClure and Steven Symms, both of Idaho, had the courage to vote "no." The rest of the "Scalawag" Senators from the South voted "yes" or did not have the internal fortitude to vote at all.

Our congratulations to Senator Helms who reminds us of Jefferson Davis. In 1862 the President of the Confederacy made a great political statement that continues to ring true today. When asked the ultimate goal and intention of the Southern Confederacy, Davis replied "All we want is to be left alone."

The War continues...

The Politics Of Business

One Mr. David Cohen, president of something called the Social Development Corporation of America, recently addressed a meeting of Big Business leaders in Milwaukee. Mr. Cohen urged those leaders to get their companies "involved in the things that count" by becoming even bigger contributors than they already are to various leftwing social action causes. The Big Businessmen should throw their weight behind the renewal of the Voting Rights Act, for instance. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Cohen described the act as "the one litmus test of fairness in the country." We agree, the Voting Rights Act is the one litmus test of fairness in the country. The country flunked by dropping back to its hallowed trick of punishing the South in order to indulge its own phony sense of moral superiority. ⊠



REPORT FROM THE CAPITOLS

by N. Cider

Juris (Im)prudence

The best commentary on the so-called Voting Rights Act was made by Senator John P. East of North Carolina, the most serious scholar of political philosophy to grace the Congress in recent years. Senator East's statement was made against the bill, before its passage, but we here reprint it as a prophecy. Just as Senator East predicts, there can be no doubt that this dangerous bill will in coming years be used as just another battering ram for the federal courts to employ to destroy American traditions. When that happens we should remember Senators East and Helms and the few other honest men who warned us, as well as the arrant surrender of most of our representatives to the demagoguery of the moment.

Although they often disagree in their interpretations of the Constitution, Sen. Sam Ervin and Justice Hugo Black were agreed on one issue: the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is unconstitutional. Ervin asserted that the act "is utterly repugnant to the basic principles upon which our system of justice rests." Black declared that it reduced the states to "little more than conquered provinces."

In light of recent congressional action, these words of protest, uttered more than 15 years ago, are today a modest understatement. The Senate will soon take up S. 1992, the Voting Rights Act Extension. A companion bill has already passed the House. This legislation, however, goes far beyond a mere extension of the 1965 act. In essence, it seeks a fundamental alteration of the Constitution and the American democratic system by changing the right to vote from an individual right to a right of group representation for minorities. This radical restructuring of our political system is to be accomplished not by a constitutional amendment but by legislative repeal of the Supreme Court's decision in *City of Mobile v. Bolden*.

In that 1980 decision, the court held that Section 2 of the act and the 14th and 15th amendments all required proof that the voting law or practice in question had been based on discriminatory *intent*. The court rejected the claim that political groups have an independent constitutional right to representation, and ruled that Mobile did not have to change its electoral system in order to guarantee the minority population a share of elected officerholders. Hence the claim "that the Constitution somehow guarantees proportional representation" was groundless.

Insisting that *Mobile* was incorrectly decided, the Senate Judiciary Committee has added a so-called "compromise" amendment to Section 2 that substitutes a new and ambiguous "results" test for the current "intent" test. Despite the assurances of the amendment's supporters, it is clear that the new language is unconstitutional; and if it survives constitutional attack it will serve as an open invitation to federal courts to impose a system of proportional representation throughout the country. For even though the amendment declares that this legislation shall not establish a *right* of proportional representation, it contains no language that would in any way preclude a court from mandating such a system as a *remedy*. Indeed, analogous disclaimer language in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has not prevented courts from using affirmative action as a remedy.

As Prof. William Van Alstyne of the Duke University Law School has noted, "The amendment must invariably operate...to create racially defined wards throughout much of the nation and to compel the worst tendencies toward race-based allegiances and divisions." No less alarming is the likelihod that the vote dilution rationale of the "results" test will impede the efforts of metropolitan areas to broaden their tax base through annexation, thereby weakening the economic base of our inner cities and preserving their ghettos.

Resistant to notions of reason and fairness, the supporters of S. 1992 have also doggedly refused to make any needed improvements in a law that is regional in application and punitive in nature. Good public policy provides incentives and re-

wards for compliance with the law. But bail-out is still an impossibility, and all of the covered jurisdictions, including those that have scrupulously obeyed the law, will be arbitrarily chained to the onerous pre-clearance requirements for another quarter-century. Though contrary to the principles of Anglo-American jurisprudence, the reversed burden of proof will continue to rest on the targeted states, and their elected officials must still come to Washington, with hat in hand, to litigate disputes, because their local federal courts are not permitted to hear the case.

Instead of merely extending certain provisions of the act to protect voter access to the ballot, the proponents of S. 1992, it may thus be seen, have preserved intact all of the vindictive features of the original legislation, while at the same time propelling the entire nation headlong into proportional representation. What was once a well-intentioned effort to increase black voter participation has now become a reckless and revolutionary departure from the basic tenets of American constitutional democracy.

—United States Senator John East

Aliens

On May 27, 1982 the Senate Judiciary Committee approved the "Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1982" by a 16 to 1 vote. In the worst congressional tradition, the bill is a grab bag of inconsistent provisions aimed at winning support from both restrictionists and anti-restrictionists. Immigration Subcommittee Chairman Senator Alan Simpson, a Wyoming moderate, crumbled under pressure from Ted Kennedy, Hispanic organizations and Catholic leaders, and agreed to a mass amnesty for all illegal aliens arriving in the U.S. prior to January 1, 1980. In the full Judiciary Committee mark-up of the bill (S.2222), Kennedy offered an amendment moving the amnesty cut-off date to January 1, 1982. This amendment was adopted when Republicans Laxalt, Hatch and Mathias joined the Democrats present.

Amnesty, while unpopular with the voters, is popular with the politicians because it "solves" the illegal immigration problem (estimates of the illegal alien population range from 3½ to 12 million) in a way satisfactory to the increasingly vociferous Hispanic groups and the businesses employing illegal aliens. Amnesty is considered a disaster by INS officers who (privately) predict that it will cause a tidal wave of future illegal immigration as millions of foreigners come to join relatives and friends given secure legal status (and access to the welfare system) by amnesty.

The other main element of the bill is a prohibition on knowing employment of illegal aliens. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has joined Hispanic groups such as the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) in opposing employer sanctions. The Justice Department, the GAO, and most students of the growing illegal immigration immigration problem are convinced that the "job magnet" drawing illegal aliens cannot be turned off if it continues to be legal to hire illegal aliens.

Alexander Haig: The Final Word

The forced resignation of Secretary of State Alexander Haig and his replacement by Bechtel Corporation President George Schultz have initiated the usual "inside reports." According to our own sources, which are close to high level State Department personnel, the following is straight poop: (1) Haig's resignation was engineered by National Security Adviser William Clark and conservatives in the White House personnel office; (2) the reason had less to do with the content of Haig's policies as with his independent methods and arrogant style; (3) the result will be an effort to formulate foreign policy unequivocally by the White House and NSC (i.e., Reagan and Clark), not through State; (4) in the near future, virtually all of the Kissinger-Haig creatures who now populate the Assistant Secretaries of State will be replaced; who will replace them remains uncertain; and (5) Schultz will probably be more liberal than Haig was, but this will be less important as Schultz lacks the stature to resist conservative control from Clark and the White House. The result will be a more conservative foreign policy, or at least a more coherent and controlled one.

None of this explains the choice of Schultz. The main policy differences between Haig and Schultz seem to lie in their attitudes toward the Middle East and the Yamal pipeline. Haig was pronouncedly pro-Israeli, while Schultz has the reputation of being pro-Arab. His connections to Bechtel also point in this direction, since that corporation has huge investments in Saudi Arabian construction contracts and its former Vice-President and General Counsel, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger was a main rival of Haig (like everyone else and his kid brother), but worked with Schultz at the Office of Management and Budget in the Nixon-Ford years.

The other main difference between Haig and Schultz seems to lie in their attitudes toward the Yamal pipeline. Both are opposed to the current Administration posture of opposition to the pipeline and of forbidding American firms and their European contractors to sell needed materials to the Soviets for the construction of the pipeline. But Haig's opposition appeared to be merely tactical; he argued that the current anti-pipeline policy of the Administration would open deep and irreparable fissures in the Atlantic Alliance. Schultz's opposition appears to be more general; he is said to believe that economic sanctions simply do not work, and he may represent a more capitalist, trade-with-anybody mentality than the ex-general he replaced. Ironically, it is precisely the threat of Arab economic sanctions in recent years that has moved corporations such as Bechtel and our European allies away from Israel and toward the Arabs.

Bleed No More

"I'm a black man. And this is my state. I know you can indict North Carolina for a number of things. But you can't indict her for this..."

These are the words of Charles Mason Quick, a 69 year old physician from Fayetteville who is making war on a myth dear to the bleeding hearts of those who hate the South.

Here's how the story goes: 32 years ago, a black man (Dr. Charles Drew) whose work in medical research led to the development of blood banks bled to death because he was refused care in a whites-only hospital. This account can be found in most any black history textbook.

However, one small problem: it ain't true. Dr. Quick, a friend of the late Charles Drew, was there that night 32 years ago. Drew had been badly injured in an automobile accident. And Quick arrived at Alamance General Hospital in time to see white doctors "working desperately" to save the life of his friend. Any other version, Dr. Quick says forcefully, is nothing but a "perpetual lie."

We commend Dr. Quick for his service to the truth and for his fidelity to the South. His words ("This is my state") ring solid and true, a statement of pride in a complex heritage jointly shared by black and white.

Obviously we've had our problems. Some of our own creation—some not. But it's nice to see a good Southerner take a stand against yet another Yankee lie. ■

DEVOUTLY SPEAKING

Rod Gragg

Did "Infant Doe" Die In Vain?

A six day-old baby was recently starved to death in a Bloomington, Indiana hospital. "Infant Doe," as the baby was called in court documents, was born with Down's syndrome and a deformed esophagus. Surgery could have corrected his esophagus and the baby could have survived in the meantime through intravenous feedings, but his parents did not want a Down's syndrome child and chose to have food withheld. Supported by a ruling by the Indiana Supreme Court, hospital officials complied with the parent's wishes and "Infant Doe" died of starvation six days after birth.

"This is a daily occurrence," says Curtis Young, Executive Director of the Christian Action Council, a major anti-abortion organization based in Washington. "Everywhere I speak around the country, doctors and nurses come up to me and say it's happening in their community. Infanticide is being practiced throughout our country."

"The destruction of newborn children with birth defects is the logical next step after abortion," Young says. "The argument for non-personhood of the unborn used to support abortion is now being applied to newborn babies. This case is just another example of the further deterioration of respect that the government shows for the individual. I just hope that Congress can pass legislation to stop the infanticide now being practiced in this country—so 'Infant Doe' did not die in vain."

ACLU Seeks To Stop Students From Praying On School Grounds

The American Civil Liberties Union has asked the South Carolina Board of Education to adopt a statewide policy to keep public school students from voluntarily meeting to pray or to read the Bible together on school property during recess or lunch. The Piedmont Chapter of the ACLU has threatened to sue because of reports that students in a public school in Anderson, S.C., sometimes voluntarily pray or study the Bible during free time.

Board of Education officials argue that a state law prohibiting voluntary religious expression by students would be discriminatory. How students spend their free time at school and how school property is used during non-school hours are matters under the jurisdiction of local school boards, says Mark Morton, the Director of Public Information for the state school system. ACLU officials say if the Board of Education does not comply with the ACLU request, the prayer and Bible reading will be stopped by legal action.

Baptists Take Conservative Positions

Delegates attending the Southern Baptist Convention in New Orleans this summer took a conservative stand on the questions of abortion and prayer in school. The Southern Baptist Convention, which represents the largest Baptist membership in the United States, has opposed abortion in the past, but the resolution passed at the 1982 Convention was the strongest statement against abortion ever placed on record by the Baptists. The resolution called abortion "infanticide" and called for an end to the practice nationwide.

The Baptists also passed by a three-to-one vote a resolution supporting voluntary prayer in public schools. Convention Executive Director James Dunn opposed the resolution, arguing that it would harm the Bill of Rights and give government a bigger role in religious life. Supporters of the resolution countered that the prayer amendment would help prevent misinterpretation of the First Amendment by the U.S. Supreme Court and would put prayer back in the schools of America as a step toward restoring morality in American society.

The Baptists also passed a resolution favoring the joint teaching of Scientific-Creationism and Evolution in American classrooms. ■

UNDER WESTERN EYES

Samuel T. Francis

The Cheat Of The New

One year and three months after John Hinckley's attempt to kill Ronald Reagan, the trial of the assailant groaned on, treating the nation to the edifying debate as to whether Hinckley was *compos mentis*. Hinckley, by the most generous estimate, is a singularly uninteresting man; his offense was remarkable neither for its execution nor for its results; and his trial should have lasted at most for the whole of two hours. Yet the country's leading periodicals and newspapers rehearsed the banalities of the insanity defense; the court was treated to a full showing of *Taxi Driver*; and the principal witch doctors of the capital pondered and pontificated upon Mr. Hinckley's precise motivations. In a healthier time, when one Giuseppe Zangara tried to kill President-elect Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 and instead bagged Mayor Cermak of Chicago, who stood near by, the assassin was tried, convicted, and executed within two weeks of the crime.

I dwell upon the protraction of the Hinckley trial because it is symptomatic of the triviality, mawkishness, and implosion of values to which mass societies are always vulnerable and to which civilized societies must capitulate under the pressures of the mass media. The immediate cause, I would suggest, of the duration and insignificance of the Hinckley trial was certainly not the complexity of the issues or legal principles involved, but the knowledge on the part of Hinckley's counsel that public opinion can be wheedled and cozened into sympathy for the defendant through artful manipulation of the media.

Kevin Phillips argued some years ago that elites in post-industrial societies depend upon innovation for the preservation of their power and position. Unlike almost any other elite in history, ours does not preserve itself by resisting change but by promoting it. Thus, household detergents, cars, video games, clothing styles, and fast foods are best promoted because they are new. Very often, in fact, they are not new, but at least look new or different or unconventional or can be sold as such. This cultivated appearance cannot last, of course, and the marketing czars must soon invent new newness to induce us to hand up our purse. What is most important in the marketing process is to convince us that what is trivial, vulgar, false, useless, merely appealing, or even dangerous is in fact important, tasteful, true, valuable, and healthy *simply because* it is said to be *new*.

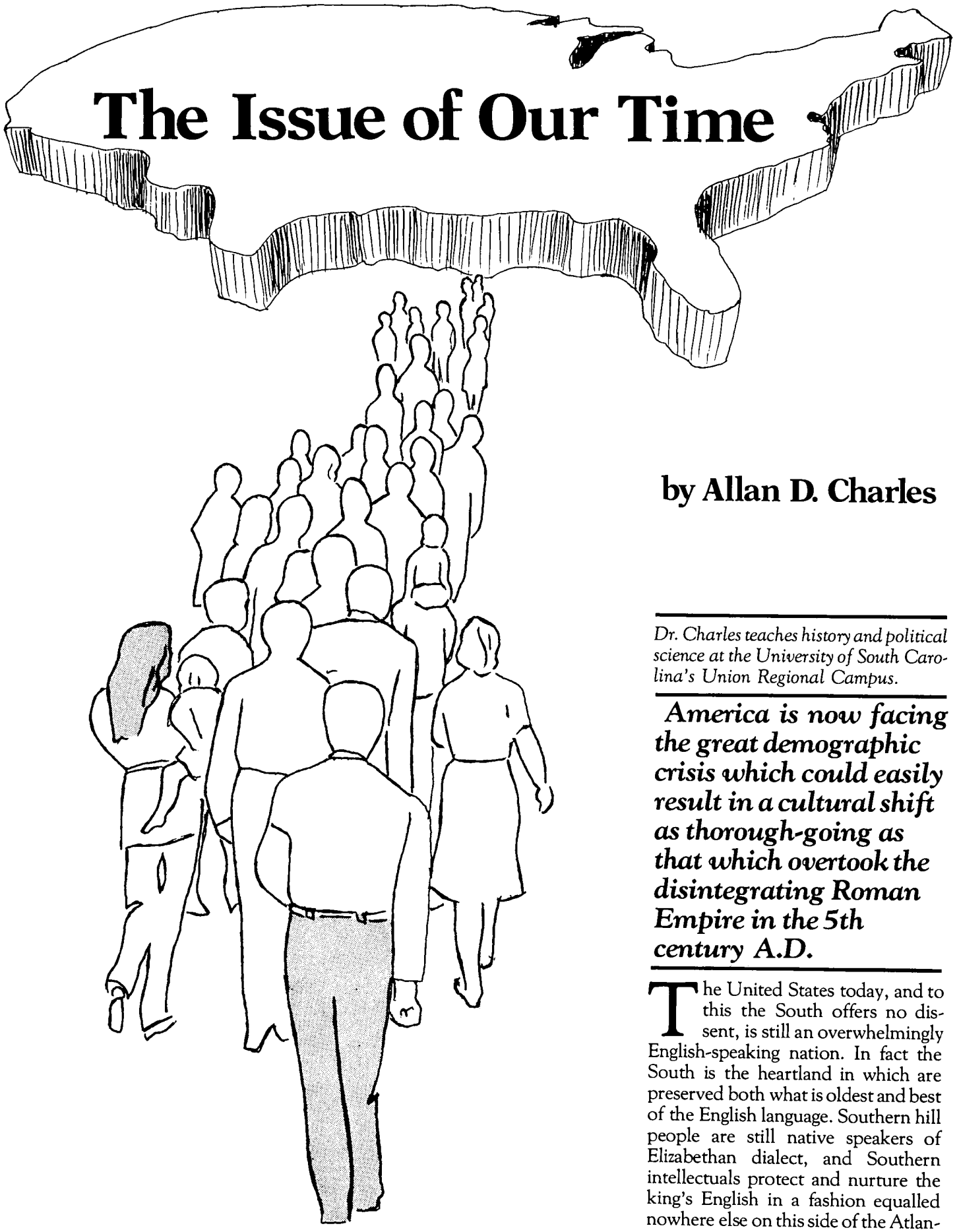
The media of mass communication must promote novelty because the attention span of their audience is necessarily short and its emotional and mental depth shallow. In politics the result is conventionally condemned as "liberal bias," whereas in fact the platitudes of pop liberalism provide almost the only possible frame of reference for what is considered news. It is impossible, for example, given the mass audience and the drivel on which its mind feeds, to present the controversy over the nuclear freeze issue as anything but a struggle between good and evil, those who are "against" nuclear weapons and war *vs.* those who are (presumably) "for" them. Walter Cronkite is said to have justified CBS's preoccupation with American "atrocities" in Vietnam with the rationale that everyone expected the Communists to commit atrocities, but when Americans committed them, it was news.

In contemporary America, we have crossed over the rainbow into a land where there is no truth, no fixed reality of fact or value, and all is in the eye of the beholder. Mr. Hinckley's lawyers no doubt understand this...

Similarly with political leaders. Nothing in contemporary politics is quite as bizarre as the transformation of Senator Barry Goldwater from a paranoid, authoritarian, warmongering ogre in 1964 into the wise and benevolent elder statesman he is today. Of course, except for the vicissitudes of physical and mental aging, Senator Goldwater has not changed a bit, but the perception of him has been carefully reconstructed. So also it was with Sam Ervin in 1973-74, and so it will probably be with Richard Nixon in the years to come.

At the end of *The Wizard of Oz*, Dorothy discovers that the universally feared wizard is nothing but a little old man with an elaborate machine that produces lots of smoke and a few frightening images. In contemporary America, we have crossed over the rainbow into a land where there is no truth, no fixed reality of fact or value, and all is in the eye of the beholder. Mr. Hinckley's lawyers no doubt understand this transition and were banking on the need of the mass media to manufacture a pathetic neurotic out of a hip-shooting killer. Perhaps the present judge and jury were not directly affected by this transformation of image and symbol, but there will be six-month reviews of Hinckley's potential for violence far into the future. The members of these review boards have not been selected or thought of yet, but they are already being at least subliminally instructed. Who knows, maybe Mr. Hinckley can even run for President some day. ⊠

The Issue of Our Time



by Allan D. Charles

Dr. Charles teaches history and political science at the University of South Carolina's Union Regional Campus.

America is now facing the great demographic crisis which could easily result in a cultural shift as thorough-going as that which overtook the disintegrating Roman Empire in the 5th century A.D.

The United States today, and to this the South offers no dissent, is still an overwhelmingly English-speaking nation. In fact the South is the heartland in which are preserved both what is oldest and best of the English language. Southern hill people are still native speakers of Elizabethan dialect, and Southern intellectuals protect and nurture the king's English in a fashion equalled nowhere else on this side of the Atlan-

tic—not even in New England.

All this is now subject to a rapid transformation which may after a few more decades submerge or seriously dilute the dominant linguistic culture. Some 41.1% of legal immigrants to the United States (and a much greater percentage of the illegal ones) in the 1970s were from Latin America. Another 34.9% were from Asia, and a mere 17.7% were from any part of Europe. Fears of accusations of racial prejudice restrain most commentators from so much as alluding to the situation in an unfavorable manner, but the problem is not one of mere prejudice. The very cohesion of the nation is at risk, and many American blacks are as concerned as some whites.

The United States Census of 1980, which even Census Bureau officials admit could not have counted most of the numerous illegal aliens who dodge American officialdom, allows that the Hispanic population in this country grew by 61% between 1970 and 1980 to a figure of 14.6 million, an increase greater than that of any other segment of the population. Those were the ones that were counted. Unofficial estimates of the actual total of Spanish-speakers in this country run higher than 20 million, or almost a tenth of the entire American population, numbers sufficient to challenge the blacks for the position of number one minority.

The worst onslaught, however, is yet to come. Most Hispanics arrive from Mexico, and newly instituted birth control methods there will not begin to level off the rate of population increase until the 21st century. Today 45% of Mexicans are under 15 years of age, their child-rearing years still ahead of them. Estimates of Mexico's rate of population growth range from 2.7 to 3.5% per year, well above the Latin American average of 2.4%. Thus Mexico's population is expected to double in the next 25 years or less, increasing from its present 65 million people to approximately 130 million by 2005. No industrialized country has a population growth rate in excess of 1% per year, and the worldwide average is 0.5% for industrialized nations.

Many throw aside the scare figures and argue that Mexicans have a right to cross the border, as the United States took its Southwest from Mexico. That is a specious argument, one which is territorially true but demographically false. Only a miniscule percentage of the current Mexican-American population is descended from the some 75,000 people who were on the ground which was transferred to the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Currently-entering Mexicans are often from the southernmost parts of Mexico, and are definitely not "reclaiming the land of their ancestors." Even the northern part of Mexico proper was very thinly populated until the late 19th century, when the opening up of mines and railroads drew Mexicans up from the central and southern parts of the country.

Further, even the sovereign right of America to control its own borders has been called into question. The "Binational American Assembly on Mexican-American Relations," which convened in New York in October and November , 1980, under the aegis of the American Assembly of Columbia University, stated on page seven of its report that "There is recognition that the question of migration between Mexico and the U.S. is a matter of bilateral relations and should not be addressed simply as a domestic issue in the U.S." To this startling assertion one can only inquire whether the converse is also true. Is immigration into Mexico a matter over which the United States should exercise some authority? One can be certain that any such suggestion would elicit immediate howls of "Yankee imperialism" and "violation of the rights of a sovereign nation" from the Mexicans. American sovereignty, however, seems to be a joke to people who consider the United States more an eleemosynary institution than a nation.

It has been argued, moreover, that without the safety valve of the relatively open American border, Mexico could face a revolution. The reply to that is that it is better that Mexico face revolution than that the United States face dissolution—not too strong a word for what could occur here.

To prevent national dissolution, it is necessary that the population maintain a cohesive self-concept. In short, there must exist in any society a generally agreed-upon definition of what that society, that population under a specific government, is.

In maintaining such a definition, a definite sense of "us-ness" and "them-ness" must prevail. This concept has, however, been attacked since the 18th century as "exclusionist" and a relic of "prejudice" and "bigotry." The "citoyen du monde" concept dates from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution and is a very natural outgrowth of increased extra-societal contacts in a world of commercial and industrial expansion. If, in fact, the planet were well on the way to a one-world government, the anti-exclusionist or "liberal" concept would be unimpeachable.

The trend, however, is in the opposite direction, with sub-nationalisms and secessionist movements emerging within what many had hoped were consolidated nation-states. Canada, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Nigeria, Lebanon, and Yugoslavia are only a few of the nations so troubled. In a world of such centrifugal political tendencies, one must inquire as to what "glues" are available to maintain the cohesion of the society.

The members of that social organization known as a nation must be able to recognize one another as fellow citizens and be able to communicate with each other, and that depends on such intra-societal glues as common race,

...over the last century, religion has declined as a force in popular culture, Christianity has further fractionalized itself, and assorted non-Christian sects have entered the country.

common religion, and common language. Common humanity will not serve unless there were a population of Martians or Venusians on the planet, and earthlings could unite against the "aliens."

America once had racial unity in its citizen body in that only whites were citizens when it was founded. In 1790, when the first United States census occurred, there were almost four million residents of the country. A significant minority were blacks, but they were not voting citizens, even in those Northern states which had already abolished slavery. The population, further, was overwhelmingly protestant Christian in religion, and except in Maryland, no large body of Catholics existed. The number of non-Christians were miniscule—a relative handful of Sephardic Jews in the major cities. Virtually no southern or eastern Asiatic ethnic groups or religions were represented. The language was overwhelmingly English, except for a scattering of Dutch in New York and a few handfuls of German-speakers in southern Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and the "Dutch" Fork of South Carolina. The oft-repeated story of the founding fathers deliberating whether or not to make German the national language was propaganda aimed at the erstwhile mother country. Linguists will tell you that it is the people of a society, not the government over it, that decide the language that is spoken.

In 1868 and 1870, due to the adoption of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, the black population was officially added to the national citizen body. Race immediately had to be dropped as a distinguishing factor, and therefore vanished as a cohesive force among the citizens. A bi-racial nation emerged.

A tri-racial picture was slower to develop. The arrival of significant numbers of Asians began with mining and railroad-building in California in the 1850s. The passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (the first American attempt to limit immigration) and the "Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907" restricting Japanese entry slowed the flow, but Filipinos entered freely from 1898 to 1934,

and Asian migration spurted again after President Lyndon Johnson's revised immigration law was enacted in 1965. In the years 1965 to 1973, immigration from India increased 2,155%, and arrivals from the Philippines went up 884%. The period since World War II has seen many special groups of refugees admitted above and beyond any quotas—the "boat people" from Indochina and from Cuba being the most recent examples. When Latin Americans were added to the "pot pouri" in the 20th century, a fourfold racial stituation was apparent—whites, blacks, orientals, Latins.

Furthermore, over the last century, religion has declined as a force in popular culture, Christianity has further fractionalized itself, and assorted non-Christian sects have entered the country. Thus religion as a cohesive force can be considered, like race, to be no longer operating to hold the entire nation together. Language is all that is left.

European immigrants of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, though often non-English-speaking, did not constitute a separate racial stock from the founders of the country. Most of the "white ethnics" have been culturally and often even demographically absorbed by the older white population. Their languages exist nowhere among large enough aggregations of people to constitute any threat at all to the supremacy of the English language. The turn-of-the-century immigrants were very diverse from each other in origin and spoke Polish, Russian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Italian, and a host of other languages. No one language was dominant, and these people had no choice but to seek a high degree of assimilation to what was understood to be the "American" language and culture. The unfortunate thing about this immigration was the very success of its assimilation, which ironically has fastened an historical misconception upon the newly amalgamated American mind, i.e. the belief that America has an infinite capacity to receive immigrants. Too many people whose grandparents came from the "old country" and who take excessively to heart the words Emma Lazarus wrote for the Statue of Liberty feel they cannot turn away any "tempest-tossed" later arrivals. The current wave of immigration, however, is virtually and fundamentally different in character, although it is doubtful that a majority of Americans will disabuse themselves of their romantic preconceptions in time to close the floodgates.

The problem is not simply that the United States has no more room or good jobs for new arrivals. Even if we did have room, the admission of substantial numbers of Hispanics should be prevented for cultural-linguistic reasons. Few of the Hispanics are dissolving in the much-cited "melting pot," and these newcomers are arriving in such numbers, and with the potential for so many more in the near future, that assimilation is out of the question. Spanish-speaking enclaves or "barrios" are already of such proportions as to be unabsorbed by the surrounding population. In short, their "critical mass" is such that they are not obliged by the necessities of life to learn a new language and make the giant step toward assimilation that that would mean. Every language is heavily freighted with the culture of the people who speak it, and the fact that Hispanics are able to maintain, largely undiluted, their original lan-

guage and culture means that the fundamental character of the United States is changing, and we are losing the last of the glues that hold us together.

In 1924 the United States hired the first "border wardens" to police the Mexican boundary. Today our defenses are hardly more sophisticated than they were then, but the rivulet has grown into a torrent. According to the 1980 census, Hispanics make up some 54% of the population of San Antonio, and it is obvious why they were able to elect a Chicano mayor. Another American city where pesos circulate like dollars in the streets is El Paso—63% Mexican. The Rio Grande is the border in name only. Los Angeles is 28% Chicano and has the largest Mexican community outside of Mexico City itself. Albuquerque is 34% Mexican, while the state of New Mexico as a whole (oh, unfortunate name) is 40% Hispanic.

If the problem could somehow be contained in the Southwest, then the South and other regions might have no fears, and we could relax into "cultural pluralism." That aspiration is a complete pipedream. If the national border is falling to restrain the tide, how can regional or state boundaries do so? What Southerner feels at home in Miami these days, a city 56% Spanish-speaking that includes not only Cubans but numbers of cocaine-pushing trigger-happy Colombians.

New York City has a 20% Hispanic population, including not only the Puerto Ricans who began arriving soon after World War II, but so many Colombians that in 1974 Colombian presidential candidates actually campaigned there among expatriated, but still voting, fellow nationals. A whole country, including its politics, has been transplanted to America.

Chicago has so many illegal aliens that the census takers never claimed to find anything near all of them, but the Hispanics who answered the door or filled out forms accounted for 14% of known Chicago.

Colorado does not even border Mexico, but over 13% of the state's citizens are Chicanos who, concentrated in Denver, are a people who no longer fit the migrant worker stereotype. Nationwide some 85% of Chicanos live in cities. Many hold skilled jobs.

This situation cannot be accurately compared with Canada and its linguistic dualism, as the francophone population there is not being constantly and drastically reinforced by waves of immigrants from France. Canada is fairly stable demographically (except insofar as they are bringing in new Asian immigrants), but even so their Parliament is a little United Nations with simultaneous translations delivered via headsets to the legislators, and Quebecois restiveness augers ill for the ultimate survival of federation.

If America loses language as a cohesive force, the only alternative to dissolution would be for the United States to consider itself an empire and not a nation. Thus the strongest and most cohesive group within the country would control the government, probably to its own advantage, or if it were pressed, to the partial advantage of out-groups—at least enough to prevent them from exhibiting too much discontent. Any such *modus vivendi*, however, would continually have to be re-negotiated, and an empire, with no racial, religious, or even linguistic unity would be perenially subject to political instability and faced with eventual collapse.

If Yankees and Southerners sometimes squabble, we do it in a common tongue. Ours is an internal rivalry, and when a threat appears from without, we must know no Mason-Dixon line.

Thus the United States as a whole is today facing a challenge unprecedented in its history. It is not a question of liking or disliking a particular class of immigrants. If the United States were overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking, and English-speaking people were threatening to change its character, everything said here would still stand. The languages would simply be reversed. The reason that this problem has the country mesmerized into inactivity is that fear of accusation of bigotry keeps scholars and officials from discussing it openly and evolving a plan of action. Unfortunately, the sands of time are running out for us. ▣

Partisan Quotations

One hundred years after [John] Randolph's death in 1833, another bold warrior, Donald Davidson, the old Nashville Agrarian, faced defeat at the hands of the innovators; but like his predecessor, he taught us how to die, sword in hand:

Plan your harrying
If you would gnaw his
ravaging flank, or smite
Him in his glut among the
smouldering ricks.

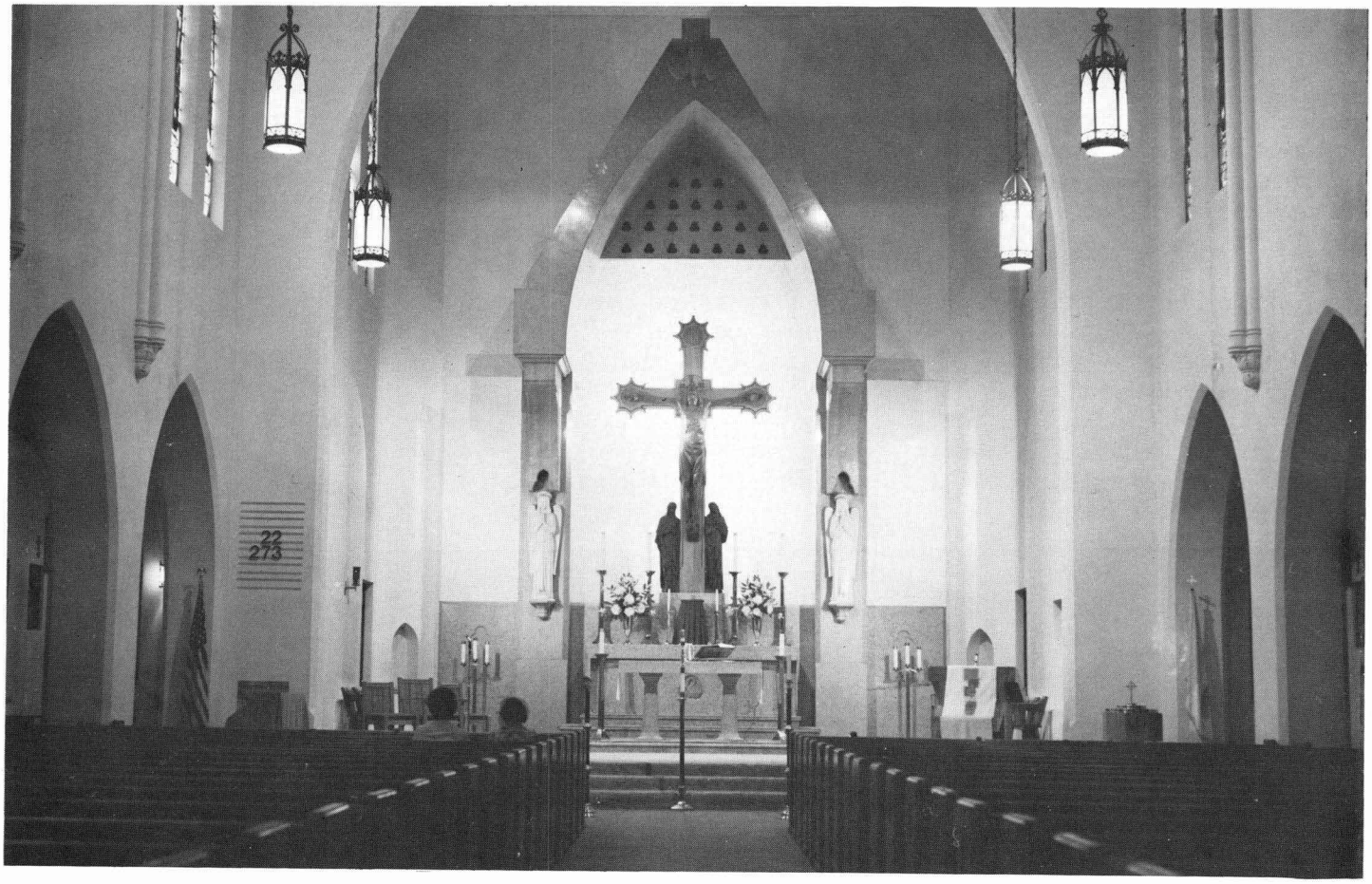
From John Randolph to Donald Davidson, the South has produced a steady succession of men willing to bear the opprobrium of their contemporaries in order to defend the old ways....John Randolph will not arise; but there will always be men of courage and honor to take up his mantle. As America plunges further and further into the future of which Randolph warned, those inspired by "Mad Jack's" example will remind us of the price we pay for abandoning the faith of our fathers. John Randolph lies in his grave, but John Randolph lives.

James J. Thompson, Jr.
University Bookman,
Winter 1982

If centralism is ultimately to prevail; if our entire system of free institutions as established by our common ancestors is to be subverted, and an Empire is to be established in their stead; if that is to be the last scene of the great tragic drama now being enacted: then, be assured, that we of the South will be acquitted, not only in our own consciences, but in the judgment of mankind, of all responsibility for so terrible a catastrophe, and from all guilt of so great a crime against humanity.

Alexander H. Stephens
Vice President of the Confederacy
A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States

The Roman Catholic Church of America



Decline and Decadence Part II

by Reid Buckley

"...Our men in purple would do well to ask themselves what it profits them to gain the camp plaudits of the world while the pews empty."

Do you suppose that if our high clergy were encouraged to have sex it would take their minds off politics?

Were this so, do I hear the "ayes?" If for laymen avarice is the vice of old age, maybe for the men in purple politics is the vice of waning faith. Because this may be the crisis of the Catholic Church in America.

When we left the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (the NCCB) last November they had: (1) called on the U.S. Government to end military aid to El Salvador (but did not similarly rap Cuban or Sandinista knuckles), (2) condemned nuclear weapons, (3) denounced the Reagan defense budget as being bought on the backs of the poor.

There were two other positions, but these will do. Many Catholics ask, what is going on here? How come our holy and revered spiritual directors (because this is what they *are*) spout the kind of hyperbolic hooey, tinged with meanness, that we associate with the likes of Jane Fonda, Ed Asner, and other pedal extremities of the silly set?

The reasons are bound up in an abject terror of nuclear destruction that is shocking in priests of Jesus Christ. They derive from a radical-left mind-set that seems to have immobilized analytical faculties. Everywhere and in every thing our Bishops are embracing the Beast.

How ironic that after nearly two hundred years of philosophical war waged by the Church against humanism it should be its Bishops who have succumbed: reducing the entire meaning of existence to the material well-being of one of its creatures, Man, and in the temporal survival of

Man repositing all value. This, of course, is heresy.

There is no *sense* in the proposition that Reagan is sweating defense out of the poor.

Are we to believe that our prune-faced, wry, amiable, soft-spoken, joke-cracking old *shoe* of a President beats up on the poor for kicks? *Vamos, hijitos!* Are we to swallow that he is politically so simpleminded that he would alienate tens of thousands of voters who, at the ballot box, are as rich as any mogul? If Ronald Reagan is neither politically stupid nor morally depraved, then the only way to endow the Bishops' denunciation with sense (of sorts) is by adopting the proposition that *any* sum of money that is not expended by Government upon the poor, for any reason, is tantamount to robbing the poor, who (the corollary) have a prescriptive right to all the wealth of society, or anyhow that much of it that Government is able to get its hands on. This shouldn't surprise. Increasingly, liberals have come to view the fruits of labor and production as the property of Government. And as George Gilder remarks in a recent *The American Spectator*, a fetish has been made of poverty. To be poor is aprioristically to be "good." It is ipso facto to be good and deserving. To be rich (capitalist[1]) is nasty. (At the very least, *suspect.*) (Reagan is rich.) The fallacy George Gilder also points out:[2] because, if virtue is to be identified with poverty, as so many contemporary prelates do, to the degree that it is seen as an essential property of the state of being poor, and even an exclusive one of that state, which the rich, because they are rich (nasty-capitalist-Reaganite), cannot participate in, then what in the world is the Church doing trying to banish that blessed condition?

Our Bishops have become reverse John Birchers: there is an international (capitalist) conspiracy to deprive the poor of what is theirs by right (virtue). John Quinn, Archbishop of San Francisco, in speaking of the "colossal evil" and "total" immorality of nuclear arms, says that they are bad not only because of their intrinsic horror and the irreversible ecological damage that they can inflict, but "At the same time [because] the billions of dollars which are being spent on these arms each year by a growing number of nations is an appalling form of theft, when so many of the world's dispossessed are being deprived of the possibilities of a minimal human existence in a world of abundance."

There is no reasoning with this kind of inflated rhetoric. It is a *crie de peur.*

But let's not single out Archbishop Quinn. Bishop Francis J. Mugayero, of Brooklyn, as reported by the *NY Times* "called the decision to raise the military budget while slicing funds for social programs 'an indefensible position,' and asserted that there was a 'close connection between the expenditure of billions of dollars for an increase in arms and the plight of the poor.'" Don't you love the gallimaufric loftiness of that reduction: "the plight of the poor?" Pour anything into that pot, from cavities to Herpes simplex. How *about* some hard questions. In what does this plight consist? Hunger? Lack of clothing and shelter? Lack of education, work, opportunity? Psychological disability? Physical, intellectual, and emotional degeneration? A combination of all the foregoing, plus advocates like Bishop Mugayero? And/or oppression?

No, no, no... not the capitalist oppression regularly practiced by the Ford Motor Company and Exxon and DuPont, and by all those greedy old widows and rapacious orphans who are living off the dividends of same (if they haven't been smart enough to switch to T-bills). Let's look at oppression in the Soviet Union, for example, where for years and years and years, and into the present, and for the foreseeable future, people have been condemned to subhuman existences for the sake of the eternal war machine. And that's for certain; as it is certain that were the Russians to toss their SS-Apocalypses into the sea, so would we ours (you either have a monopoly on these things, or they are no good to you), and if the Russians were to stop financing and encouraging terrorism worldwide, the world would be largely at peace.

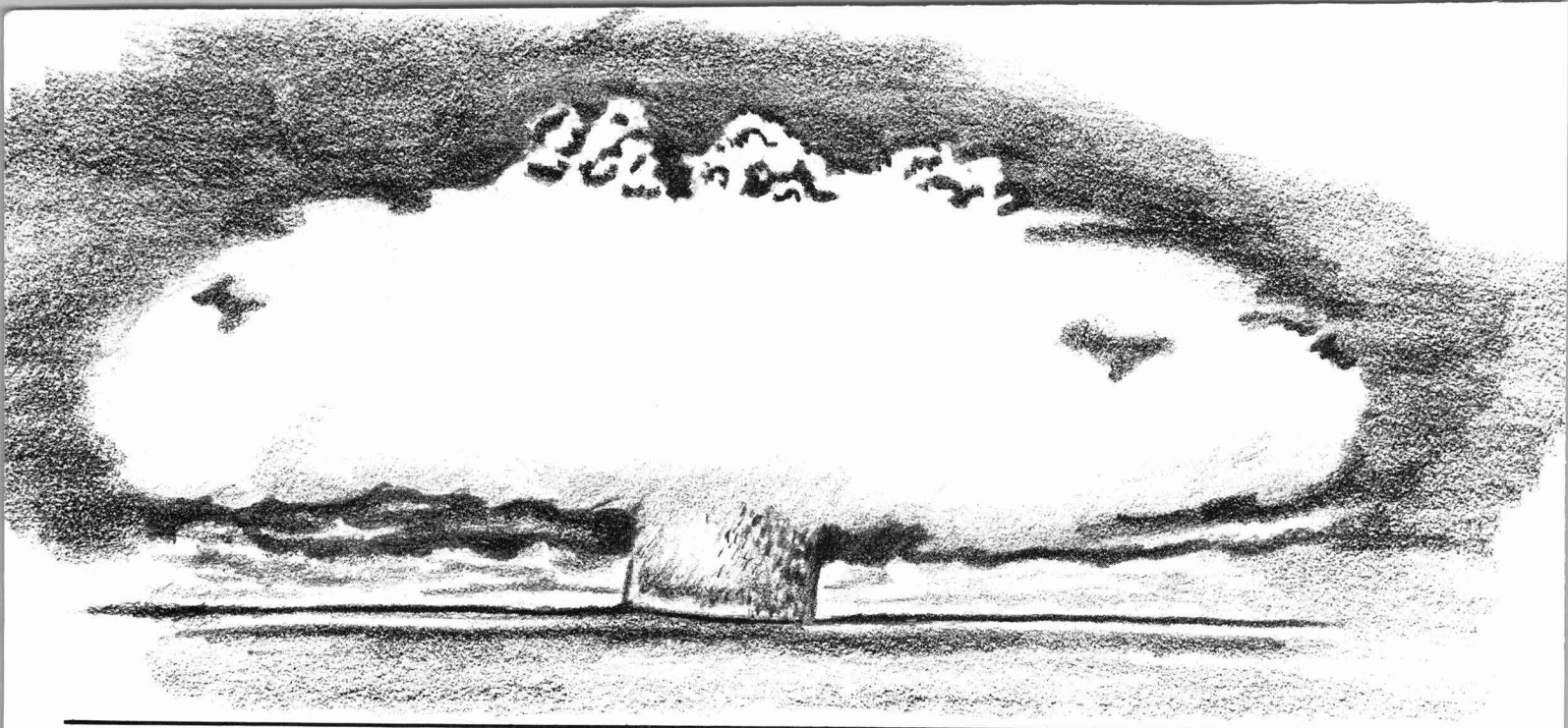
If I clobber this point silly it is because our Bishops go to circumwoolly lengths to avoid it, wreaking their holy wrath mostly on us. But is it so that *our* poor are suffering because of *our* paranoiac or imperialist piling up of redundant death? Is the dollar that is ticketed for military hardware at the Boeing factory in Seattle not opposing poverty with jobs and services? Defense procurement signifies not only the purchase of guns and munitions but a capital investment that arguably helps prevent want for thousands, whereas government transfer and entitlement programs are arguably squandered cash in the main, and other social measures, such as the CETA constellation, only piously expect to provide more than temporary subsistence. Yet instead of hailing the social fall-out (oops!) of defense procurement, our clergy continue mindlessly to moan; and to strain our loyal suspension of disbelief; as when, this past November, Archbishop John Roach, *President* of the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States, complained that "What is spent for guns directly reduces what is available for the quality of care and life for the least among us." *Madre, mia!*

What is the matter with these able, sensitive, bright, and well-intentioned men that they should speak such gibberish?

Their trouble, as we pointed out in Part One of this impertinence, is that those who venture beyond the expertise of their calling tend to make ninnies of themselves. Prelates are not trained in such mundane concerns as economic theory. Having themselves voluntarily renounced their personal and even some measure of their intellectual liberty in order to become slaves of God (there is no nobler sacrifice), it may be that the appalling record of Marxist societies in stamping out freedom of conscience revolts them less than it does you and me. And because priests spend their

[1] The association, rich-capitalist, is unconsciously revealing, because the opposite association, poor-socialist, is so true.

[2] See also, "The Myth of Social Justice," by Antonio Martino, *Three Myths*, The Heritage Lectures 7, The Heritage Foundation.



Nuclear war...may be the second most urgent matter ever to have faced mankind. Salvation was, always has been, is, and ever will be the first most urgent matter on the human agenda; it is not small thing the Bishops have apparently forgot.

adult lives in the world's only successful authoritarian system, which happens to work because God happens to be on its side, and because that system is rigidly centralized and is served by people like themselves, of utmost dedication (Church bureaucrats may have their faults, but they are certainly a cut higher than we are likely to find in our post offices), it is unsurprising that some of them confuse the ideal of a just society with the imperium of the State. Their notion of how economics works may be influenced by the miracle of the loaves and the fishes, and they do not concern themselves with such tiresome questions as whether a society at any given time can "afford" Y or X expenditure for a merciful end, because no priest worth his salt worries where he is going to get the money when he sees children of God, his brothers and sisters, distressed. (Bishops do struggle with their diocesan budgets, but their solution is ever to pray and then—quick—fire an epistle to the parishes asking for more, which they almost always get.) Really, with no intention of being sacrilegious, for a priest to jump from the image of distributing the Host—of taking the unleavened bread and piecing it out in wafers of equal size to the people, in this act giving them the eternal bread of the spirit, the life that is in the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ—to jump from this to the paradigm of the State doing something similar in the secular realm through, say, the redistribution of wealth by means of the tax power, is not so extraordinary. The servant of God cannot be satisfied with commutative justice. He must strive for the mercy and love of distributive justice. Practices that might break a private business may be morally obligatory from the priest's point of view. He will not pay the young bachelor *less* than the struggling father of six; he will pay the struggling father *more*. Men of the cloth, therefore, cannot be expected to wince at such atrocious cliches as "social justice" (the ideal just *society* wrung through the agency of the State), which litter modern church writings; they would be offended to hear F.A. von Hayek denounce the term as intellectually disreputable, or to hear from Helmut Schoek that it is of partly Marxist origin (they are likely to assume that it originated in the Vatican). Archbishop Edmund C. Szoka can so forget the essential principle of volunteerism in charity (if I uncomplainingly permit a million bucks to be wrested from me in taxes for the purpose of feeding the hungry, but walk over the wino on the street who begs me for a dollar bill, I am morally lost), that he cries about cuts in government subsidies, "These are issues of social justice. The Government simply cannot say, 'We'll let the private sector take care of the poor.'" Testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee that day, he told the Congressmen that private charity is inadequate. That he should concern himself less about the merit for the giver than about the suffering he seeks to relieve is natural too; but do our Bishops ever ponder the waste, graft, and corruption that plague government enterprises, how so often the poor are lucky to get fifty cents on the tax dollar, and how so many of the Great Society brainstorms have backfired, promoting fatherless households in the ghettos and dissolution of the family? Have they never wondered how much more they might prise out of private pocketbooks were they not preemptied (to coin a pun—oh, dear!) by the State? Were a body permitted to lop charitable donations off his taxes dollar for dollar, how *much* might flow into the coffers of those institutions that are closest to the local condition and best able to treat it?

Ignorance of the principles that make an economy work for the greatest good of the greatest number, however, isn't the main issue.

What I think influences Catholic Bishops so badly in their anathematizing of Reagan's determination to raise our guard is their terror of nuclear war. And that terror, as I see it, implies a debilitation of their faith.

The Bishops are so exercised about this subject that they vie with one another in public posturings. Raymond G. Hunthausen, the patriarch of Seattle, declares that he is withholding fifty percent of his income taxes from the Government in protest of "our nation's continuing involvement in the race for nuclear arms supremacy." I am on the one hand encouraged, because this seems to show that Archbishop Hunthausen, at least, abides by the primitive notion that his wages are his to do with as he wishes, to bind or to loose, and not the cottonpickin's gummint's. But my moment of elation quickly deflates. The nuclear arms build-up, he cries, is "the greatest moral issue before the human family... The arms race is one of the greatest curses on the human race [do you suppose the right reverend Hunthausen is one of the stylists employed in the offices of the New Liturgy?], and the harm it inflicts on the poor is more than can be endured." (Which some might suggest goes for his logical progressions.) Our Trident naval base, he thunders, which is "in our own backyard" (admittedly a helluva place to put subs), is "the Auschwitz of Puget Sound."

Now, apart from the almost impenetrable confusion in this last statement, where the reader is called upon for several staggering synaptic leaps from nerve-end to nerve-end of the Bishop's frayed and frenzied logic[3], is his response commensurate with the moral offense?

Recoiling from "...the greatest moral issue before the human family" he withholds half his taxes. Big deal. The total military budget, however, does not amount to 27% of the budget, and the amount allocated to nuclear arms is a fraction of that. Is not the Bishop's protest from all angles disproportionate? Well, he is grandstanding. One can't expect precision in such cases. (I remember back to the primary campaigns of 1980, when a desperate Teddy Kennedy began sounding more and more like an unhinged Rod Steiger playing Huey Long. Having lived out of the country so many years, I did not realize this was Kennedy's *normal* decibel count.) O.K. His Grace is merely trying to call attention to what he views as a maximum evil. Fair enough. But does his protest, the edge of which is slanted at the United States, stand analysis? He slams our "continuing involvement in the race for nuclear arms supremacy."[4] Assuming that "involvement in" means commitment to, is that correct? Have we been "racing" for supremacy? In his personal plea to Leonid Brezhnev months earlier hadn't President Reagan called for a *reduction* in the number of nuclear arms on both sides, and to that end did he not offer to refrain from implementing procurement of certain of our new dillies? Is it *we*—the United States—who deserve the brunt of the Bishop's indignation? And speaking of magmatic moral issues, haven't there been other, pretty hot ones? What about abortion? What about the funds every year spent by the federal government on planned parenthood and related "population control" programs? By the Grace of God and by His Mercy, nuclear war may never erupt; but the artificial prevention of life, and the slaughter of foetuses, in the millions *every year*, is going on this minute. How has Bishop Hunthausen managed to contain his indignation? One would think the evil of the day is sufficient thereof.

I don't mean to pick on a single prelate. There is a tribe of them with two left feet, which would be more happily employed sciadopously than politically. We have Bishop Leroy Matthiesen, of Amarillo, Texas, agitating to defenestrate a Pantex nuclear-bomb plant of its workers, and never mind whether a window of vulnerability exists. There is San Francisco's irrepressible John Quinn, using the moral authority of his office to urge hospitals to pay no attention to Defense Department plans for allocating beds on grounds that they contribute "to the illusion of a winnable nuclear war." It happens that the Soviets have hypothesied that such a war is winnable. They are unlikely to be influenced by John Quinn, whose episcopal authority in Moscow is not discernable. Should the Soviets act on their hypothesis, Archbishop Quinn may become directly responsible for avoidable suffering and deaths. I think it is in this case appropriate to thank the Lord that His Bishops have already squandered so much respect through politicized philippics that little attention will be paid to the tinkling of yet another cymbalton?

If anything excuses hysterical fear, it is the prospect of a nuclear war.

We dull clods can sympathize with the emotions of such as Bishops Hunthausen, Quinn, Matthiesen, Roach and so many others. But: precisely through their faith in God should they be able to subjugate their fears and maintain moral equanimity—even though this may be the *second* most urgent matter ever to have faced mankind.[5] Hysteria

[3] On the face of it, a base for housing submarines that we hope never will be used on a nuclear mission, which by design their construction was intended to prevent, would seem to have little relation with a Nazi concentration camp infamous for its slaughter of Jews; until you stretch to consider that just as the mad Nazi attempt to exterminate Jews was genocidal, the Trident ballistic missles, should ever they be fired, would help ignite or respond to nuclear conflagration, which, by Hunthausenian definition, makes us guilty of genocide. Whether or not we have such a malignant purpose, on which our moral culpability as a nation would depend, is to him immaterial, though one would imagine that such distinctions matter to a churchman. But this one, like all other distinctions in the intoxication of the Cause, is o'erridden.

[4] Were we in Italy I would suspect a bid to join Sophia Loren in a cell for 30 days.

[5] Salvation was, always has been, is, and ever will be the*first* most urgent matter on the human agenda; it is no small thing that the Bishops have apparently forgot.

and its twin, however, Hyperbole, rule the American Church. Our Bishops have apparently learned nothing since their call in 1971 for the United States to get out of Vietnam. For whatever effect that exhortation had on the outcome, the hierarchy are to that degree responsible: for the subsequent murder of four million Cambodians, the pillage, rape, torture, and murder of hundred of thousands, maybe millions, of Vietnamese and Laotians, the attempted extermination of Hmong tribesmen through the spraying of "yellow rain" that causes you to choke to death on your own blood, the unrelenting persecution of Christians in those countries and the rape, torture, mutilation, and execution of their nuns and priests. This unrelieved horror—this trampling under of the sacred dignity of the individual; this reduction of the human being to its biology—is partly the handiwork of our boys in purple.

No one has more graphically described the awfulness of a nuclear disaster that Pope John Paul II in a message that appeared in *L'Osservatore Romano* just before Christmas. But the accompanying editorial was scrupulous in calling for "the immediate reduction and ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons *undertaken simultaneously by all parties* [my emphasis] through specific agreements" that spell out "efficient controls." Such distinctions are scorned by our Bishops. Why? In the *Time* Magazine symposium (29 March) on the nuclear disarmament controversy Archbishop Quinn explained. "Any weapon that can bring about irreversible ecological damage to large portions of the earth, untold [incalculable? unforeseeable?] genetic damage for countless generations to come, and that can destroy in the most horrifying manner massive noncombatant populations is a colossal evil and totally immoral. The very real possibility of the destruction of all life on our planet is above all a religious and moral issue."

He is apocalyptic—and maybe correctly so. It *is* possible (we really don't know) that concatenations from nuclear holocaust would terminate human life. Not everyone believes this. The Russians think that with their ABMs and civil defense measures they could contain losses to a mere (in Soviet eyes) 12 million or so, about what they lost during World War II.[6] I have read estimates as low as 40 million and as high as 150 million in casualties for us, given our woeful unpreparedness (which Archbishop Quinn would shun from correcting). But what is it that our Bishops are telling us to do? Surrender? Why...yes. That's what it boils down to. Chuck our nukes into the sea and rely...on the mercy and restraint of...the team that brought you "Yellow Rain over Laos" and that other hit, "Whistling into The Wista."[7]

Forget everything I said at the beginning. Our Bishops *can't* mean that. As well as Pople Pius IX they must know that the doctrine of communism is "infamous," that it is "utterly opposed to the natural law itself," and that its adoption (in this case imposition) "would completely destroy all men's rights, their property and fortune, and even human society itself." They have seen this taking place before their eyes in Southeast Asia. Before that it happened in China. Before that it happened in East Germany, Czechoslavakia, Albania, Rumania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania... And they have presumably read all the relevant literature. But against the almost certain prospect of a global Gulag, which is absolutely destructive of human dignity if not of the unconquerable human spirit, the Bishops weigh the horrors of possible nuclear war (it is not inevitable) and the possible extinguishing of human life; and elect to throw themselves on the mercy of...God?

But is that correct? Is their position the morally obligatory one? Did God intend that if it came to defending Christian revelation by a means that just might wipe out human existence we should refrain from the risk? (What did God ask of Abraham, and was the sacrifice of the Lamb not immeasurably more awful than a contingent extermination of mankind?) Did He not give us the weapon? He endowed us with the knowledge and skill to split the atom, would that He had not, maybe; but His ways are mysterious, and future, fossil-fuelless generations may understand them better. Is it our duty to decline using the weapon or, now that it is in malevolent hands also, just the opposite: to keep the threat credible with the object of deterring Doomsday launches by those who would enslave us? Are we not bound intelligently to deploy the means available to us; are we not obliged to defend Christ at the price of Armageddon, if necesssary. He has promised us that the gates of Hell will not prevail against His Church. In the total demoralization of their fear, have not these Bishops elected to fling the *Church's* gates wide? Where is their faith?

Though the question of nuclear arms clearly has its moral dimensions, increasingly are the Catholic clergy pronouncing on secular political issues, slipping soapily ever to the left, to the shrill, and to the pacifist; and almost always at a sacrifice of moral authority. What was that other recommendation last November? Ah, yes: that we forthwith terminate military aid to the government of El Salvador. Well, let's suppose we had. And let's hypothesize that, as a consequence, the Duarte government collapsed, the Marxist rebels prevailed, and the heroic elections of this past March, which so stirred the world and which demonstrated that the people of El Salvador in overwhelming majority despised and detested the guerrillas, never took place.[8] El Salvador today would be another Nicaragua: a Marxist police state where the Church (guess what?) is persecuted. The tragedy that has overtaken Poland since the Catholic Bishops met, and the inspiriting events in El Salvador, should chasten our Bishops: should commit them to the trough of humility for long draughts of its waters. Before the withering away of episcopal authority is complete, our men in purple would do well to ask themselves what it profits them to gain the camp plaudits of the world while the pews empty. ⊠

[6] Excluding executions of their own people by their very own KGG? They do not specify...

[7] Not to mention "Boris Bulba in Kabul," and the long-running 1960s smasho, "Gone With Zhivago."

[8] It is a very great irony that the Duarte whom the American Bishops disdained should, as it turns out, be disdained by the people of El Salvador, who turned instead to...d'Aubuisson!

Citizens or Subjects?

By Clyde Wilson

From *The New Right Papers*, edited by Robert W. Whitaker, published by St. Martins Press. Reprinted by permission.

During the past half century a struggle has been going on to decide whether America will remain a republic or become an empire. Almost every political, cultural, social, and even economic issue that has been fought over is subsumed in this larger struggle. The forces of imperialism have seemed to have history on their side and have almost, but not quite, prevailed. The forces of republicanism are battered but not quite vanquished.

The 1980 elections were the *beginnings* of a last great counteroffensive by the republicans. The war will probably be decided within the next decade. The outcome will determine whether the descendants of the present generation of Americans will be free citizens of a proud republic or merely ciphers in a faceless mass of imperial subjects. The slender hope of avoiding the latter end depends in the short run upon the foresight, morale, and determination of the republicans and in the long run upon the ultimate survivability of American institutions.

An empire is not to be distinguished from a republic by the extent of its overseas commitments or the possession of foreign colonies or the size of its military forces. It is possible, though not necessarily easy, for a people to remain republican while engaging in extensive trade, military campaigning, and even colonization overseas. An empire is differentiated from a republic by the nature of its domestic society and by the purposes which inform its official and public activities.

Nations come into existence when a unique identity is fused by history out of a particular group of people, a particular land, and a particular culture. In unusually fortunate circumstances, a nation emerges with institutions of self-government, institutions in which political power originates within and is widely dispersed among the community—a republican society. Such institutions appeared naturally among the British colonists of North America and were legitimized by the Revolution and the Constitution.

The Founding Fathers knew that republican societies were fragile. History taught them that republics, and particularly large and diverse ones, tended to degenerate into empires. Their best thought and effort were directed at means of enhancing and prolonging the life of those self-governing institutions of which Americans had fortuitously

Clyde N. Wilson, associate editor of the Partisan, *is professor of history at the University of South Carolina and editor of* The Papers of John C. Calhoun. *He recently edited* Why the South Will Survive.

The American body politic is now divided into a country party and a court party, republican and imperialist camps. Republicans are those who place their primary allegiance in the American community.

found themselves in possession. The fear of degeneracy loomed so large that how to avoid it was the source of the sharpest disagreements that occurred among the founding generation.

At the heart of their dissensions was the confusion engendered by the paradox of liberty and order. But all agreed that political liberty was a meaningful concept only within an ordered community. Self-government was of value only to one who was indeed self-governed. That is, only a virtuous people could be republican. Virtue was defined according to stern Roman values, with something of the sober English ones thrown in. A society of men who did not govern themselves could not be self-governing. Republicanism was not a benefit bestowed from above, a decree of government that magically guaranteed freedom and equality to all warm bodies. Self-government was a blessing that flowed to people who, both by their efforts and by the kind of people they were, established communities in which self-government became possible and reasonable, communities in which there were moral resources sufficient for the strenuous task of reconciling liberty, order, and popular rule. Men did not become good citizens by having democracy. They had democracy because they were the stuff of good citizens.

Further, a society of men who did not value their self-government enough to make sacrifices for it could not long remain self-governing: sacrifices not only in what was necessary to defend against foreign dangers, but also sacrifices in self-discipline and self-denial of those indulgences and laxities that accumulated to the degeneracy and subversion of republicanism.

The benefit of republicanism, the reason why it justified these sacrifices, indeed, the very definition of self-government, was the superiority of the community to its rulers. In a reversal of the common pattern of mankind, rulers (a necessary evil) became delegates of the community, temporarily assigned to look after the public business, rather than the community existing chiefly as a source of gratification and support to the rulers. The rulers were "responsible," a word used often by the Founding Fathers—"responsible" to the community which designated them and to which they would retire, in time, to share as ordinary citizens in the benefits or burdens following upon their administration. This was the difference between a republic and an empire.

"Responsibility" was an intensely moral concept. Responsibility in the officeholder entailed being under the law, scrupulously staying within the limits of delegated authority, being the agent of the community rather than its master. "Responsibility" had another moral sense, as well. The ruler, while staying within the limits of his authority, carried out within those limits the duties of his office as vigorously and effectively as possible. A republican statesman was the trustee of the community. A sense of honor kept him in obedience to those who elected him. While observing the limits of delegated authority, he was expected to have the high moral and intellectual qualities required to discern the long-range interests of the community and to govern effectively.

The key to republicanism, then, is the precedence of the community over the government. America, at least republican America, is not merely an accidental collection of individuals dependent upon a particular government. The American community is the expression, at this moment in time, of that unique synthesis of people, culture, and land that occurred in the emergence of the nation. Communities have forebears and descendants. Their political acts are governed in the consciousness of these as well as of present necessities. Empires, on the other hand, are governed by the momentary necessities or even the whims of rulers. In an empire, by the calculus of the Founding Fathers, the rulers were the opposite of "responsible." They were corrupt and dangerous in two senses: They were usurpers of authority over (against) the rights of the people, that is, the community; and, they were incompetent in carrying out the high and necessary functions of government. One needs only to read over the indictment of George III in the Declaration of Independence to see how the two evils went together in the American mind.

The Founding Fathers, drawing on their understanding of English history, had a terminology for the contrary tendencies to which government was subjected. There was the "court party," which was devoted to the interests of the rulers, and the "country party," which sought to defend and preserve the community. The court party represented and favored the pressure toward the degeneracy of republicanism, that is, it represented an imperialist thrust. The country party's main duty was to guard against the cunning usurpations of the court. Allegiance to the "country" party rested upon an assumption that society took precedence over government, that government existed only to preserve and enhance society.

The "country" philosophy was also a philosophy of individual liberty. One of the many plausible guises under which evilly motivated rulers sought to undermine or overthrow the limitations put upon government by republicanism was that of protecting the individual from the community. But to the "country party" there was no contradiction between the liberty of the individual and the liberty of the community. Indeed, the liberty proclaimed by Revolutionary Americans encompassed both meanings. The separation out of individual liberty and the placing of it in conflict with the community by modern political philosophy has been the greatest asset imperialism has enjoyed—it has provided imperialism with its strongest motivating drive and its most powerful legal weapons. Government has aggrandized itself by posing as the defender of the individual against the community.

To the Founders the community was the context into which the individual was born or admitted, a context which

provided him with a secure identity and the possibility of realizing his potential as a human being. Community implied a degree of homogeneity and stability, of givenness. Cultural activity was an expression of the personality of the community. Political activity, in a healthy and republican community, was the effort to enhance the well-being of the community in regard to its domestic peace and its freedom from the foreign enemy.

As understood by the Founders, individual liberty could only occur in an ordered community. While the group, in the final analysis, took precedence over the individual, the individual's existence, including his exercise of freedom and his possibilities for individual expression and achievement, was given a framework of relevance only by his membership in the community. One must be a member of the community, he must share in its culture and tradition by birth or active allegiance, before he could be a free and self-governing citizen. In practice in early America, citizenship was not bestowed upon the immigrant by the government, but by the community. Immigrants voted in some states before being granted federal naturalization. The government merely registered that the mutual adoption had taken place.

Individual liberty was thus a byproduct of membership in good standing of a free community, not a grant from government. Therefore, individual liberty was much more effectively guaranteed by limitation upon government than by grant of rights. To assume any other grounds for republican citizenship was to assume (and a great deal of what passes at present for democratic political philosophy does so assume) that man derived his worth from government, that he had no intrinsic value. This may indeed be true of imperial man. It is not true of republican man. Even man's relation to the Almighty, while transcending nations and cultures, has no means to express and perpetuate itself except through the personality of a particular community.

To put it another way, limited government is synonymous with republicanism. The limits have not to do with abstract mechanisms, checks and balances (which are merely incidental, though they make up almost entirely the modern pseudophilosophy of democratic government), or even with constitutions, which are not the substance of a republican society but simply the register of its existence. Republicanism consists essentially in the inviolability of the community, its superiority over the machinery of government. Individual liberty and the postulated equality of citizens before the law are not gifts of the government but products of the precedence of the community over the government, indicating the limited and secondary standing of the letter.

As understood by the Founders, individual liberty could only occur in an ordered community. While the group, in the final analysis, took precedence over the individual, the individual's existence, including his exercise of freedom and his possibilities for individual expression and achievement was given a framework of relevance only by his membership in the community.

An empire, on the other hand, functions in indifference to both the individual and the community. It reverses the precedence of community and government. An empire may originate in the colonizing or military efforts of a particular people. Its institutions may reflect, palely, the institutions of the communities out of which it arose. Its founding people may remain on hand as a ruling caste in the empire, but in that case they will have become merely a class and not a people. Their identity will depend upon their political position in the empire, not their membership in a nourishing culture.

The republic passes over into empire when political activity is no longer directed toward enhancement of the well-being of a particular people, but has become a mechanism for managing them for the benefit of their rulers. That is to say, an empire's political behavior reflects management needs, reflects the interests of maintaining government itself, reflects the desires of those who happen to be in control of its machinery of administration, rather than the personality and will of the nation being governed. The government of an empire is abstract, manipulative, a government of, by, and for the government, not of, by, and for the people. Power flows downward rather than upward.

In an empire all institutions receive their legitimacy from the approval of government, rather than government being a means to nourish and protect institutions. In an empire the government is the basis of all things, in a republic the community. In an empire the genius of the people, as the American Founding Fathers called the particular native social fabric, no longer matters because an empire consists of many peoples, or, in effect, none. It consists of subjects, interchangeable persons, having no intrinsic value, to be manipulated in the interests of that abstraction, the empire. Subjects, for instance, whose neighborhoods or schools may be turned over to criminals should the rulers prefer to placate criminals rather than punish them. Subjects whose hallowed notions of family and morality may be put officially on a par with debased forms invented by diseased personalities. Or whose culture can be treated as inferior to some other that has been or is to be imported and officially recognized.

Or subjects whose lives may be expended in wars the relationship of which to the security and welfare of their community is tenuous. Thus imperialist foreign policy (like imperialistic domestic policy) is "irresponsible" in the republican sense. It reflects the vagaries of mind or the assumed self-interest of the imperial class. It has no point of reference, such as is axiomatic to a republican society—the well-being of the community. Republics go to war to defend their interests or presumed interests, including possibly their honor. Empires go to war because going to war is one of the things that "irresponsible" rulers do. Since imperial rulers are not responsible, they have power but not moral

obligation, and represent themselves and not communities, they are capable of going to war for subjective self-gratification, making a remote land "safe for democracy," for instance. They are equally capable of ignominious retreat on the flimsy grounds of the evaporation of their fantasy. They choose illogically to ignore communism ninety miles away and fight it five thousand miles away—it is, after all, the duty of subjects to obey, not to question. The obedience of subjects to their rulers is easily distinguishable from the obedience of republican citizens to the laws and deliberate decisions made by their commuity.

The New Right, it seems to me, may best be understood as a largely spontaneous and as-yet-imperfectly-articulated defense of the American community (or rather communities, for there are several) against the inroads of imperialism. It has been forced out by a sense of alarm that the balance of power has shifted away from the community and toward an imperial ruling class, and a sense of fear that such a shift represents a malignant condition for a republican society. That is to say, viewed in light of the Founding Fathers and of the instinctive feeling of Americans about what it means to be American, the trends of recent decades forebode the end of the republic and anticipate the termination of a unique experiment in the self-governance of communities and the limitation of rulers.

The New Right is purely and simply the revolt of the community against the threat to its dignity and self-determination posed by imperial rule. Its mission is to reorient American politics, domestic and foreign, around a clear and simple objective, the well-being of the American people.

The fact is that the balance of power *has* shifted against the people and in favor of the court; that government policy, both domestic and foreign, has for some time now been directed more and more by the interests and opinions of the class that dominates the centers of power, official and unofficial, and its clients, and less and less by the well-being or beliefs of the people.

Most of the ills facing American society today can be viewed simply as the varied manifestations of the growth of what I have called imperialism. It is the onset of imperialism that accounts for the widespread sense of powerlessness and decline felt by Americans today, a malaise far deeper than that experienced in major crises of the past like the Civil War or the Great Depression. The trends of recent decades, unchecked and unreversed, foretell the transformation of republicanism into something else—the familiar, ancient forms of servitude, the end of liberty and dignity, except for the imperialist class—those lucky, ruthless, or cunning enough to belong to the court rather than the country.

That the form of republicanism remains intact, apparently, is of little significance. It is the substance which ought to be our concern. That members of the imperialist class, floating on a sea of luxury and irresponsibility such as was never known before in the world, do not see the degeneracy of the times, does not matter. The average American, rooted in the reality of work, responsibility, and survival, knows that he is not as well off, not as secure, not as proud or as easy as he once was.

It was the boast of the Founding Fathers and subsequent generations that America was the best country in the world for the common man—that was one of the meanings of republicanism. It may still be true, but how much longer? With the value of labor eaten away by inflation, neighborhoods threatened, education deteriorating, the minimal conditions of civility disappearing, the American, except for favored members of favored minorities, sees his hopes slipping away. Dimly, he apprehends a sinking from citizenship into peasantry, that he has become a subject rather than a citizen. His unease arises not only from a sense of deterioration but from the instinct that his rightful inheritance, as an American, is to be a proud and self-governing being.

The American body politic is now divided into a country party and a court party, republican and imperialist camps. Republicans are those who place their primary allegiance in the American community—its traditions, values, its very unique reality. They stand distinguished from those who are primarily motivated by the interests of the court and its clients. The latter dominate equally the Left and the Old Right and appear in various guises, as expediency dictates, but most often as adherents of the ideology of "liberalism."

What is today called the New Right is thus not a new but a very old phenomenon in American history and tradition. It is the American country party, provoked into militancy. The tendency, the preference, the despairs and hopes which the New Right signifies are deeply, fundamentally, originally, anciently American. They are not recognized as such, perhaps, because most of our history and political philosophy in recent decades has been imperialist, has been distorted so as to mask the will to power of the court party by an abstract and mechanistic discussion of a disembodied "democracy." The regime has ignored, as much as it could, the interests, even the survival of the living community of republican Americans. The New Right is purely and simply the revolt of the community against the threat to its dignity and self-determination posed by imperial rule. Its mission is to reorient American politics, domestic and foreign, around a clear and simple objective, the well-being of the American people.

The common man's instincts come far closer to the understandings of the Founders than do the apologists of received wisdom. Our course in recent decades conforms perfectly to the scenario familiar to the Fathers as the decay of republicanism by usurpation. Imperialism, remember, is not just bad policy, to be cured by repair of mechanism or a change of leaders. Imperialism is a condition, a state of decayed responsibility with implications for every part of society. Its ravages are evident everywhere in America today.

There is hardly anyone who has not been aware of the flow of power to Washington in the past few decades. More

recently, almost everyone except paid apologists of the imperial class has become aware of the inefficiency, fraud, and waste that have accompanied that flow. Yet the discussion of this issue has been too trite and narrow. It is not a question of redistributing a given quantity of "power." Imperialism should be looked at within the framework of republican responsibility. The imperialist arrogance of Washington and its minions and the decay of will in the community go hand in hand. The social fabric has deteriorated as power has drained away from the community. The court has gathered power as it has shucked off responsibility. We are governed more, and less well.

Power has been shifted away from the voters and officers of the community, but responsibility has not gone with it. Washington is not "responsible" to those it rules, because the ruled cannot reach it, cannot exercise any effective authority over it. They are subjects, not citizens. Often no one knows who issued the directives that have impinged upon the community, and if they are known, they are out of reach. And Washington is not responsible in the sense of governing effectively either. None can be found to take the responsibility when the directives prove to be onerous. From representatives expressing the will of their people, the local fathers have become leaders in securing acquiescence in what nobody wants but nobody seems to know how to avoid, in what government does *to* us.

Even Congressmen no longer go to Washington to deliberate and achieve a consensus and decree the will of the people to the government. They have been transformed from delegates of the sovereign people into imperial lackeys. Their primary "responsibility," except possibly on election day, is to the bureaucracy. They maintain themselves by sitting atop and taking credit for the flow of government manna back to their communities. It is beyond the Congressman's power to be "responsible" in the republican sense because it is beyond his power to make the will of his community felt and beyond his power to prevent usurpations by the rulers except in small and incidental ways. Seeking to serve the people, he becomes frustrated or impotent; or else he becomes a willing and well-rewarded camp follower of the imperialists. Many thousands of bureaucrats and judges not "responsible," in the understanding of the Founding Fathers, to the public and even unknown to it, exercise power greater than Congressmen. They even, in many cases, enjoy pay and perquisites superior to those of the elected delegates, as complained of as the latter are. The Founding Fathers would have recognized this immediately as the rule, in all but name, of a "court" party.

But the decline of power and will in the community, the transfer of local authority and responsibility out, does not have a benefit in the increase of the individual liberty of the citizen vis-a-vis the community. Ordinary citizens have never been less secure in their incomes and persons, never had a harder struggle to maintain a sphere of decency for their families, never had less freedom to come and go without fear, never had less liberty and means to undertake enterprises independent of government authority. They are less free and happy, their aspirations in humane terms are lower than when affluence was much less in evidence.

Ordinary Americans, particularly in the largest and most liberal cities, are no longer proud members of self-governing communities. They are cowering nobodies, faceless interchangeable beings without a notion of being masters of their own fates. All this under an imperialist regime which seeks "quality" and "equality" with immense expenditures and police powers, yet is increasingly incapable of guaranteeing minimal conditions for civilized life, indeed often becomes the enemy of private efforts to maintain those conditions.

Another indicator of the state of decay which is imperialism is the shift of emphasis from production to consumption, from work to amusement, such as has taken place since the middle 1960s. It reflects an assumption of power by an irresponsible court party. "Aristocrats" concern themselves with what is due to them, not with the sordid details of providing it. All the emphasis is on distribution, none on production. The courts, the bureaucracy, and a careless Congress have erected so many lavish entitlements that society is threatened with bankruptcy on one side and disappointment of immense proportions on the other.

With typical imperialist behavior, the rulers have taken credit for the distribution and eschewed responsibility for the production. Distribution, no matter how irresponsible, is moral, production contemptible. Our rulers are inundated in a sea of money which they are ready to spend on themselves or for any purpose they see fit without any verifiable distinction between private greed and public need. It does not occur to an imperialist President that the public does not owe him a landing field on his ranch. It does not occur to an imperialist scholar that the government should not subsidize his viewpoint. The line between private appetite and public purpose has nearly ceased to exist.

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It is not enough to blame bureaucracy. Bureaucracies have tendencies to self-aggrandizement that need to be watched, but they can perform useful and necessary public functions. The point is that our institutions are now managed in the spirit of and for the interests of the imperial class. The institutions exist primarily to perpetuate themselves and to provide sustenance for those who belong to them, not to fulfill clear and limited goals related to the well-being of the community. The community provides tribute, the rulers dispose.

The New Right, I believe, starts from a real if poorly articulated instinct that economic problems are at base problems of morale, that is, of morals. The well-integrated

community produces its needs and a surplus. Only when the community becomes embattled, sees its production preyed upon by nonproducers and nonmembers, does economic morale begin to sag, with all the dire consequences—especially dire in a complex and a distribution-oriented economy. Of all the dire consequences of irresponsible distribution, inflation is the worst. Inflation is not a technical problem, it is a moral problem, a failure by rulers which takes the form of oppression of the prudent and productive. Communities with governments that take responsibility for their actions can control inflation.

Imperialism is not only a political phenomenon. The pervasive and progressive loss of function characteristic of our economy and of local and state government spills over into every area of life. The abandonment of responsibility to remote and abstract power is simultaneous with the decay of will and identity in nonpolitical institutions. Increasingly, all our institutions exist primarily to perpetuate themselves and provide employment rather than to perform the functions for which they were established. Do not deteriorating goods and services and corporate bailouts tell us that, even in business, responsibility decays? A society in which clergymen don't save souls, school children don't learn to read, reporters can't distinguish facts from feelings, tanks break down on their first run, jurists substitute whims for legal learning, has already gone a long way down the road to imperialism. We no longer judge by result and results no longer depend upon will and effort. In more and more areas of life success depends upon political manipulation, luck, and advantage. Cunning and bluster, the hallmarks of politics, become more important than accomplishment in more and more areas of life, as these are increasingly politicized.

Republican societies reconcile individual ambition and social good by providing scope for the former and harnessing it to the benefit of the latter. One burns to make more money, another to compose a symphony, another to invent a new device or technique, another to fly farthest or fastest, all to do something well for the love of that thing or the distinction that doing well brings. Such achievements derive part of their meaning from being contributions to the common good by people who feel a sense of belonging to the community.

Thus a sound community automatically generates leadership. The very fact that it provides a meaningful framework for existence arouses ambitions and encourages talents. To lead the nation, to enhance its well-being, becomes the end of existence for the maturest and highest minds. To achieve honor and position within the community informs the efforts of the young. This is not merely political but affects every activity of life—business, professions, culture. Integrity is encouraged because it has an observable value in fundamental life relations with a given people, and is respected. Excellent performance is recognized, not just by a technical group or a government committee, but as a contribution to society. Thus the strongest individual ambitions and the strongest social instincts are reconciled. A free and flourishing society is possible. In the republican community, an approximate if not absolute relationship between reward and effort prevails. But in an empire success consists of access to the levers of political power, which accounts for a progressive decline in performance in all areas of life. Only in sports and to some extent show business does the desire for excellence still reign supreme—the circuses of the masses have to be good as the quality of bread declines.

Observing the special privileges and glamour surrounding some people, and sought by others, the Founding Fathers would have unhesitatingly diagnosed America as being in a "monarchical" frame of mind, hardly any longer possessing the spirit necessary for a republic.

One of the keys of republicanism, as understood by the Founders, was that rulers were temporary and delegated. They could be reduced regularly to the ranks of the people to take the consequences of the laws they had made. But in imperial America special privileges and immunities characterize in the "court party" and its adherents. The erection of special privileges, in fact if not in name, is the sure sign of the rise to power of an imperialist class. Just as rulers cease to function responsibly, so do they aggrandize themselves. There is one law for the peasant, another for the lord. The imperialists decree busing for our children but not for theirs. They create inflation against which they are guarded by automatic raises while the rest of us survive as best we can. They decree permissiveness for criminals but expect protection for themselves. They subsidize schools of Hindus in California and ersatz Muslims in Detroit and suppress Christian schools set up by tenth-generation Americans in North Carolina. In the name of equality they destroy the safety and homogeneity of other people's neighborhoods, not their own.

The Founding Fathers realized that republican societies had a particular tone or atmosphere that differed from that of aristocratic or monarchical states. Republican citizens gave respect to leaders for their services. Imperial subjects, on the other hand, gave flattery to rulers because they were rulers. The immense sentimental adulation that surrounded the Kennedy family during the 1960s and 1970s is perhaps the most pointed evidence that can be produced for the pathological state of republicanism. The Kennedys demanded and received honor not for what they had done, but for what they *were*. A fawning press hid their indiscretions and sang their hosannas in a spirit that would have disgusted Washington or Jefferson, or even Franklin D. Roosevelt. A rather similar treatment was extended to Martin Luther King, and poor Mr. Nixon's troubles resulted largely from his pathetic efforts to secure similar status. Observing the special privileges and glamour surrounding some people, and sought by others, the Founding Fathers would have unhesitatingly diagnosed America as being in a "monarchical" frame of mind, hardly any longer

possessing the spirit necessary for a republic.

The Founding Fathers realized that republics could not be proclaimed in a vacuum, but depended upon a republican social fabric. Lack of virtue in the people called forth corruption in the rulers. And corrupt rulers communicated their moral deformity to the entire social fabric. At the heart of the failure of republican responsibility is the substitution of alleged political virtue for private virtue, a failing that has had an irresistible appeal for a certain type of American since the pre-Civil War era and has occasionally burst forth into a predominant mode, as it did in the 1960s and 1970s.

The increasing deterioration of private virtues, the increasingly small number of people who can shoulder mature responsibilities, private or public, is evident in American society and in some of the more modern parts is epidemic. It relates directly to the style of the imperial class, typified by the Kennedys—the making of a ritualistic pronouncement as a substitute for the exercise of virtue and responsibility. By this style, once the proper incantation is said, one is entitled to reward. Government will now magically solve the problem. Day care centers will substitute for unloving mothers and unsustained marriages. Rehabilitation programs will solve the problem of "citizens" who destroy their brains with drugs. More lenient laws and more generous handouts will cure the widespread disrespect for law. This is a profound and devastating kind of loss of reponsibility.

The New Right is based on areas of American life when private virtue is still practiced or at least still recognized. Where the ability to speak the truth, to keep commitments, to exercise moral restraint, to labor productively, to take responsibility for work, family, and community, are taken for granted not only as values but as necessities. Ordinary decent citizens understand instinctively what the Founding Fathers recognized and articulated. Republics depend upon the virtue of the people. To put it another way, morality, a high moral tone, is the *sine qua non* of a republic. Self-government is for the self-governed. While some of the better parts of the Old Left and Old Right still maintain a vague sense of social responsibility and private decency, it is a flabby and attenuated sense, no longer relevant to the real condition of American society.

The New Right knows, for instance, that family is the indispensable basis of all civilized life. Whatever may be wrong with the American family at this moment in history, it is all we've got. Sound communities can only be built upon strong families. Alternative lifestyles do not constitute emancipation and progress, they constitute malignancy. New Rightists, perhaps, do not agree on every nuance of the abortion question. But they do agree that the cavalier attitude toward life, even unborn life, manifested by the liberal lifestyle, is retrogression, not progress. Much the same may be said about "gay rights" and the "alternative family." We have been shocked into reaction, not so much by the manifestations of sickness around us, as by the official sanctioning of it.

It is not a question of a government neutral toward lifestyles. It is a question of whose lifestyle will predominate, a question made by the imperialists with their relentless attacks on decent America. Nor is it a question of oppression or suppression of alternatives. It is a question of not permitting what is tolerable as a fringe of society from becoming the average. Our imperial governors, with characteristically cavalier disdain for consequences, have elevated the immorality that occurs at the fringes of any society and those lapses all flesh is heir to into programs and campaigns, into equality with—no, into *de facto* superiority to—those norms that not only enjoy divine sanction but without which society crumbles. Pluralism calls for tolerance, not disintegration.

At the bottom of the New Right movement lies a vague but deep sense that the worldview of the ruling imperial class in its social manifestations marks a pathological degradation of humanity. Its emphasis on supposed rationalism and openness have reached the point where they threaten the mysterious sanctities without which life loses meaning and becomes mere animal existence, a state in which tolerance becomes a perverse weapon and citizenship impossible. To put it another way, our leading class is decadent and must be replaced by fresher, stronger minds and spirits if we are to survive. It may be that abrogating the narrowness of small town morality was at some point a good thing. But liberation has not brought the Acropolis to Main Street, it has brought the Massage Parlor. The freedom sought by the imperialist is the wrong kind of freedom. It is not the freedom of self-governing republican citizens who prefer to be their own masters. It is the tired throwing off of responsibility, the decadent resignation of aspirations to higher humanity, that characterizes the subject. This point is grasped instantly by the ordinary citizen, but only with the greatest difficulty, if at all, by the liberal imperialist who sees what he has been taught to see, not what is there. It was this phenomenal blindness on the part of our rulers to the real consequences of their positions that to Alexander Solzhenitsyn was the most striking characteristic of American society.

It would be possible to draw out at much greater length the ramifications of our imperialist state, of how our malaise is related to usurpations of power that are easily comprehensible as the degeneracy of republicanism in the light of the wisdom of the Founders. But it is necessary here to anticipate the objections of liberals, including certain New Leftists who have eloquently diagnosed the pathology of American imperialism without realizing that they were a part of it. They will contend that government is not their primary value, that it is merely auxiliary to the democracy, equality, social progress, they wish to achieve.

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The answer is that we must look at what they do, not at what they say. Modern liberalism has had only one empirically verifiable manifestation—the use of the government to manipulate and alter the community (which incidentally is often highly profitable, or at least gratifying, to those doing the altering). The manipulation may be deliberately punitive, as in the case of busing, or ostensibly benevolent as in the case of various kinds of "aid" that impinge upon the community. In either case it cannot be other than manipulation because it is done in accordance with some special vision entertained by the liberal of a better community, a vision outside of history and without specificity, a vision of a society endlessly open and malleable that never did and never can exist, a myth. If the liberal ever bore any relation to the real American community, he ceased to do so a long time ago.

Such a vision always entails the precedence of government over people, the means of manipulation over the community in being. The louder and more often the liberal talks about the people, the less specific he becomes—the further from the community of real people, the more abstract, the more imperialist. To him the people is everybody, that is, nobody. Whatever may be postulated about individual rights, in practice the individual ceases to have any significance except in the official hierarchy of manipulation. In the glossary of the Founding Fathers, the liberal is immediately identifiable as an "aristocrat," not a republican, a member of the "court" and not the "country."

I will also anticipate here the objections of libertarians, who will wish to brand the New Right, with its emphasis upon morality and patriotism, as just one more form of statism. Libertarianism, while encompassing some responsible criticism and high ideals, is an insufficient philosophy, though it is one that understandably flourishes among people who wish to be free of the burdens of a government that is becoming imperial rather than republican. The New Right differs from the Old Right and libertarianism essentially in understanding that economic problems are not technical problems but problems of morale, that is, essentially moral problems. The destruction of value by inflation and falling productivity and the loosening of bonds of contractual obligations are necessary and coterminous accompaniments of the loss of virtue in the community and in its rulers, not simply the direct result of too much government.

Free enterprise is a part of the genius of the American people, possibly a part of the genius of any dynamic and progressive people. The right to exchange goods and services, develop new enterprises, compete in the marketplace, is essential to material well-being, technological progress, and individual self-realization. There is no single social generalization applicable to the twentieth century world that is more easy to demonstrate than this.

Nevertheless, to the New Right, free enterprise is not an absolute. It is a means, not an end. New Rightists, including those who devote their lives productively to free enterprise, do not intend to establish a religion of the dollar bill. This clearly distinguishes them from certain elements of the Old Right and from libertarians. New Rightists have no intention of having their neighborhoods turned over to pornographers and dope peddlers, their natural resources con-

Republics can only achieve satisfactory decisions by open and honorable deliberation, something which the imperialists suppress by their control of the media and their penchant for branding all disagreement as stupid or evil.

trolled by foreign corporations, their national honor understood chiefly as a matter of dollars and cents, their labor cheapened and culture undermined by the removal of barriers to immigration, all in the name of the free market. They understand that such things as public morality, public responsibility, exist. Not only exist but are *sine qua nons* of a free society. Individual liberty flourishes not in a vacuum but is a possibility within a particular social context. Destroy that context by anarchy *or* oppression and individual liberty, as fundamental as it is to man's moral and material well-being, perishes along with every other humane value.

I wish to avoid the alleged besetting sin of the New Right, over-simplification. Thus, let us not exaggerate the ravages of imperialism. Its victories have not been pervasive. Much of the American community remains intact. But one must look beyond local and temporary setbacks and note the overall trend, which, previous to November 1980, had been steadily in favor of the imperialists. The 1980 elections, as yet, are only a check, not a defeat, for the imperialists. Their defeat remains to be consummated.

In further devoir to the dangers of over-simplification, it must be said, that there are two sides to every question. The increasing imperial arrogance of the governing class and its clients and the deterioration of will and identity in the community feed upon each other. The growth of imperialism is not simply the result of the machinations of evil men (though in a political regime that has produced several Supreme Court justices whom no prudent man would trust with the administration of his children's estate, evil machinations cannot be entirely discounted). Imperialism is a result of, as well as a cause of, the deterioration of community, though the last quarter century overt government action has greatly accelerated the deterioration of community by magnifying the unhealthiest elements of society and besieging the best.

There is a real question whether the American community is indeed viable any longer in other than an imperial form. Or, as the Founders would have put it, whether the people yet possess sufficient virtue to govern themselves. I believe we can give a cautious affirmative to the query. And I believe that the New Right represents that affirmation—an outpouring of positive belief in the people, an expression of the popular will that has risen above the routine of hog-trough politics—one might say, a resurfacing of the lost tradition of Jeffersonian democracy.

It is true that the multinational corporation, the industrial revolution, and what Joseph Wood Krutch called the

"modern temper"—the dislocation of traditional morals, faith, relationships, and ways of life—have worked to undermine the viability of the republican community. The problems that afflict the American family today, for instance, can be blamed only in part on liberals and government. Such problems are not chiefly political problems and do not have chiefly political solutions. The greatest danger that faces the New Right is to avoid the trap of seeking a political solution to nonpolitical problems. To make the social issues primarily matters of political manipulation will be to play into the hands of imperialism. But here is a case, fortunately, where reform and liberty go together. We are once more happily in the place where the answer to many of our problems is not a grant of more power to the government but a limitation upon it, not politics but an end to politics.

New Right politics, then, do not or should not offer to solve such problems as the disintegration of family. What they can offer is the only hope for the political preconditions that will allow the family to save itself. To get the government off the backs of the people, as Mr. Reagan has so happily put it, to deter it from its abetting of social disintegration so that the healthy forces of survival and reconstruction natural to normal individuals and real communities can have scope for their work.

As the Founders recognized and often repeated, usurpers frequently seek to surround their activities with an aura of glamour and mystery, which lends them prestige and covers their shortcomings and greed. This phenomenon was explored with great insight by Jefferson and John Adams in their philosophical correspondence late in life. The clamor raised by the imperial class and its lackeys against "oversimplification" is a perfect example. The implication is that only they are wise enough to understand the complexities of the modern world, and that the common citizen, or even the well-informed one who does not share their particular view of life, had better keep his mouth shut. But republics can only achieve satisfactory decisions by open and honorable deliberation, something which the imperialists suppress by their control of the media and their penchant for branding all disagreement as stupid or evil.

The fact is, a little simplification such as is posed by the New Right is just what we need. We need to return to a simple republican form of government, a form which exists for one purpose—to enhance and defend the community. One of the reasons for our failures, social, economic, diplomatic, military, is that we have lacked a simple point of reference. The heads of our rulers, of the Left and the Old Right, have been full of idle ideologies and pretensions to imperial glory, of everything except the welfare of the American community.

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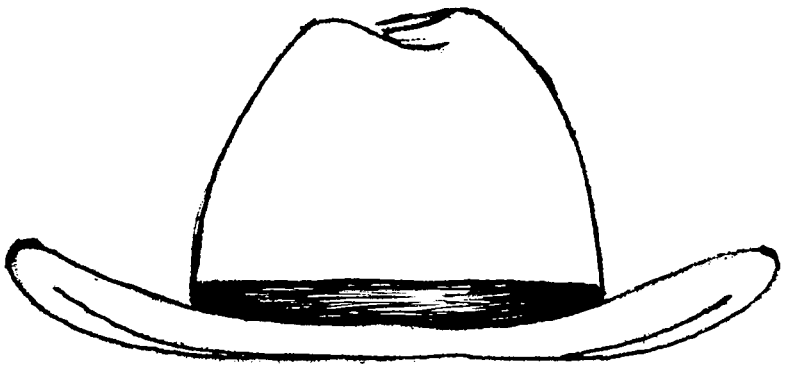
All the great men of the world have been great because of their capacity for profound simplicity. And great issues are simple ones. Or at least, the first step in the solution of great problems is to grasp their simple essentials. The reason our problems seem complex is that they lack a point of reference. To the New Right, evils such as inflation, proliferation of crime, uncontrolled immigration, decay of civility and morality, and inertia in the face of foreign threats are not "complex problems" to the left in the keeping of shamans who worry them around but never solve them. They are the direct effects of "irresponsible" rule in the sense of George III. As such, they can be reversed.

What the New Right calls for is the reorientation of the government in accordance with American republicanism. The starting point of all policy should be the health of the American community in being, the enhancement of its domestic peace and harmony and its security from the foreign enemy. If the issues are viewed from a republican perspective, they *are* simple—what best will preserve and enhance the American people and their descendants. Such a formula will not solve all problems, of course, but it will provide the starting point for their solution. Republican American will be neither ashamed nor incapable of taking the steps that are necessary to secure its economic, moral, cultural, and physical well-being, and that of its posterity.

The republican restoration faces formidable opposition. Imperialism, in all the unbridled arrogance of its privilege and pretension, is deeply dug in in the leadership of both political parties, in the federal courts and bureaucracy, in the media and educational establishment, in the purlieus of inherited wealth. Still, there is much reason for optimism.

Our task is a largely negative and limited one, to curtail the imperial class and liberate the community's powers of creation and restoration. The Iranian crisis has renewed a widespread sense of patriotism in a way that could not have been foreseen. Mr. Reagan is the first President to come to office in more than a half century without the sanction of the court party, and he exhibits an almost providential ability to perceive simple truths and stick to them. Most important, perhaps, is that new generations have the capacity to see the world through different eyes.

All these things work in favor of the restoration of the republic, and suggest that the time is ripe for that periodic returning to our roots that Mr. Jefferson so earnestly recommended. What the future will resemble if we succeed in the renewal of the republic cannot be predicted, because for communities of self-confident, self-governing citizens, the future is open. If we fail, the future is certain to be shaped by the sad, sullen outlines of servitude. ⊠



J. Evetts Haley and the Mind of the South

By Guy Brown

American historians often write of a contrast between the South, a closed reactionary society, and the West, free and open and characteristically American. The dichotomy thus presented is a false one. The West is the South. That is, to the extent that the West is a theatre for heroic action, rather than just a place to start a new business, it is the Old South transmitted to a new environment. The cowboy, to the degree that he represents the embodiment of a code of life rather than just a person who tends animals, is nothing more or less than the Virginia gentleman on the plains.

It is no accident that the most famous Western novel, written by a Pennsylvanian, Owen Wister, and set in Wyoming, was called The Virginian; *nor that the most memorable character in Robert Service's Alaska poems was from Tennessee; nor that John Wayne's best Western movie,* The Searchers, *begins in 1865 with the hero riding up to his prairie home in tattered gray.*

But the Southernness of the American West is not just in the realm of romance. The romance in this case merely reflects the facts. Boone, Crockett, Lewis and Clark, the heroes of the Alamo, Kit Carson, Jim Bridger, Jesse James, nearly all the epic heroes of the frontier were Southerners. The "cowboy humorist" Will Rogers was the son of a captain in the Confederacy's Cherokee brigade. You will hear nothing except Southern accents today on America's only remaining frontier, the North Shore oil fields.

We repeat: The West is only Western because it is Southern, because it bears the impress of the culture of the Old South rather than the Old North. That is why Oklahoma produces cowboys, oil wildcatters, country music singers, writers and scholars, evangelists and outlaws, and Kansas produces wheat and an occasional communist.

Many know J. Evetts Haley as a Texan, a rancher still active in his eighties, and a politician of the Southern conservative stripe. He is best known, perhaps, for his audacious 1956 campaign for the governorship of Texas and for his 1964 book, A Texas Looks at Lyndon: A Study in Illegitimate Power, *a work that was accurate in both its history and its prophecy. Many fewer people know Haley as an historian of the American Southwest. As an historian, Haley has been so prolific and skilled in portraying the heroic frontier of the Southern Great Plains that it takes nearly 60 pages just to list his books and articles and a whole book has been devoted to them. (See* J. Evetts Haley and the Passing of the Old West, *edited by Chandler A. Robinson, 1978.)*

Guy Brown's essay is an appreciation of Haley the historian and an exploration of that cultural nexus where the South and the West come together, where Haley's history of the Southwest becomes a phase of the Southern literary Renaissance.

—Clyde N. Wilson

James Evetts Haley, rancher, is perhaps Texas' greatest living man of letters. His first publication appeared before the United States entered the First World War in the national magazine *Boys' Life*, when the author was fourteen. Typically, that brief notice dealt with range life. For Haley is a plainsman whose life and letters are archtypically Southwestern. His life's production, which spans more than half a century and includes over four hundred published items, provides a core for the study as well as the celebration of the Southwest.

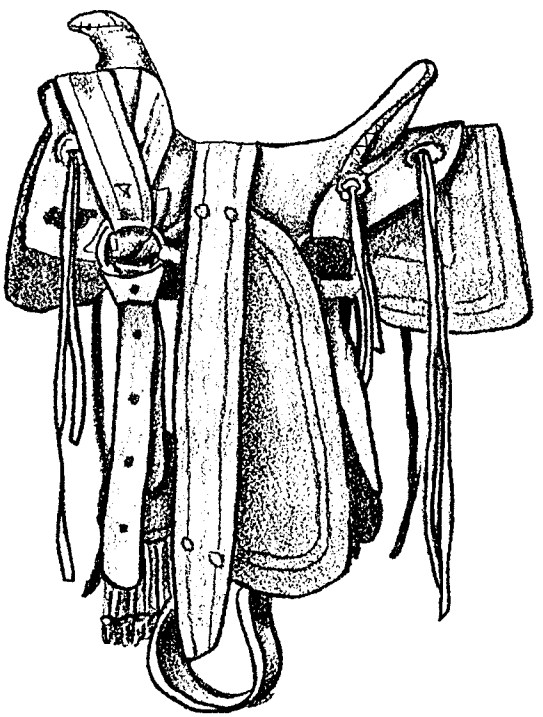
In these writings Haley fulfills equally the Old Southern genteel model of the man of letters who composes from the plantation porch and the more recent critical paradigm of the "Renascent South"—renascent at least in literature—of the man of letters who addresses the duties of literary "citizenship" and, perhaps, even must "enter the common arena" of politics. Indeed, when he officially entered that arena himself during the 1956 Texas gubenatorial campaign, Haley's announcement, *States' Rights—The Issue! Interposition the Way to Preserve Them*, glossed Calhoun's doctrine of nullification, as well as proclaimed the primary need for "simple honesty and principle" in politics for "the supreme good of Texas and her citizens." What is more, a commentary on Haley opens with the statement that "J. Evetts Haley could have stepped from the pages of W.J. Cash's classic study, *The Mind of the South.*" It is clear that, for a Harvard observer, Haley represents "the mind of the South" much as Rooney Lee at Harvard had done for the young Henry Adams over a century before. Neither mind, it would seem, has changed very much. Yet, as much might be surmised by a glance at his most acclaimed works, for the subjects of these books were themselves all Southern men—Charles Goodnight, of *Charles Goodnight, Cowman and Plainsman* (1936), a scout for Confederate Texas' Frontier Regiment; Jefferson Davis Milton of *Jeff Milton, A Good Man with a Gun* (1948), namesake of the President of the Confederate States and son of Florida's Confederate Governor; and George Littlefield, of *George Littlefield, Texan* (1943), Major, C.S.A., the dedication for whose biography reads:

To Sons of the Old South
Builders of the New Southwest....

And the transplantation of his own family from South to Southwest is rendered in Haley's latest book-length effort, *Rough Times, Tough Fiber, A Fragmentary Family Chronicle* (1976). This kinship is of course deeper than may be apparent from the first glance. It extends naturally to matters of theme and purpose, and for contemporary readers and students it is kinship which is ripe with instruction, for it is rich in certain informative tensions and even problematic divergence, as well as in deep affirmation and confirmation. Moreover, its exposition may in time provide the proper basis for the oft-sought after definition of "Southwestern literature," a definition which includes but is not limited to "setting."

As represented by Haley, the characteristic Southern paradigm of the purposeful, responsible planter amateur (who is, to be sure, often primarily a nostalgic projection or a prescriptive fiction in the service of apologiae for the policy of the Cavalier South), may be traced—via Charles Gayarre, Edmund Ruffin and others—to John Taylor of Caroline County, Virginia, the "Old Republican" among Old Republicans, from whose example the Southern model is largely drawn. This paradigm and the tradition it crowns require no lengthy rehearsal here. As that tradition is related to Haley's writings and represented in Haley's writings, no better general introduction could be found than the opening chapters of Richard Weaver's *The Southern Tradition at Bay: A History of Postbellum Thought*, and the several related discussions of the role of the man of letters in the modern South that have emerged (after the First World War) as part of the "Southern Renaissance." The Southern Renaissance, capped by the works of William Faulkner and the Southern New Critics, is generally thought of as the most significant and provocative development in American literature in this century. J. Evetts Haley's writing represents a distinctive and important part of this renaissance.

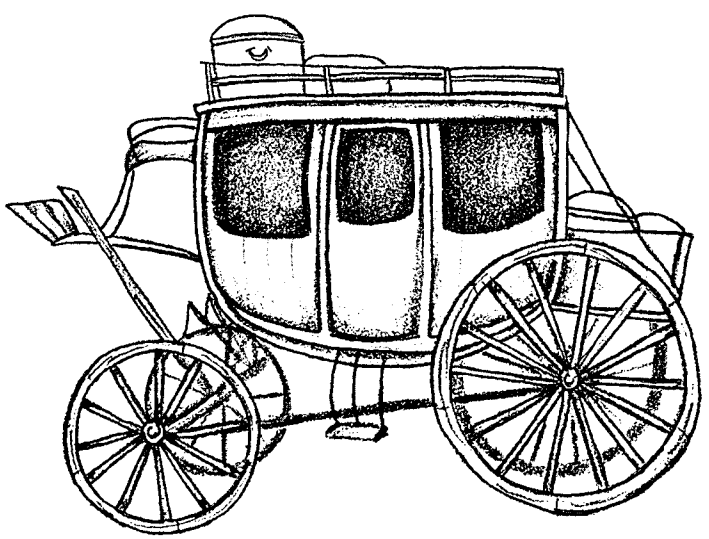
Haley's place in the older Southern tradition is best expressed in two related themes, one comic and the other tragic. The first and most enduring of these is, as it is in the fiction, lyric, and theory of the Southern Renaissance broadly, the land. The land, the ranges of the southern Great Plains in West Texas and eastern New Mexico especially, is not merely the setting of Haley's works but is part of the theme of those works. That is, the land is not primarily "landscape," but, as it were, "scapegoat," the moral setting for significant, meaningful action, for human action proper, rather than the merely physical setting for "behavior." This understanding of the land is essential to what sets Haley apart from mere local-colorists on the one hand and from contemporary modernists of various schools on the other, from the regionalists of mere space, one might say, and from the mere regionalists of time. And it is what



places his work in the most challenging tradition from John Randolph and Taylor to Andrew Lytle and Faulkner, namely, that tradition which presents the land—the earth and sky—as the stage of thought and deed, as *theatron* in the Greek sense, not as opposed to the city (for it is the ground of the city) but as opposed to what is above and below, to "Heaven" and to "Hell," and upon which stage men emerge as men, rather than as angels or as beasts, culpable, worthy of the praise and blame of their fellow men.

The men who so emerge as praiseworthy—and as anyone knows who has so much as glanced at his biographies of Southwestern pioneers, Haley admires above all and is concerned above all with praiseworthy men—may become the standard for all men. Hence the second of those constant themes which lead from the Old Plantation to the Home Ranch is the theme of Honor, here capitalized because in all of Haley's writings, to say nothing of the tradition he presents, honor is the summary of the person; it is the face of the family toward its own and toward other families. Honor is the central theme of Haley's work. This theme as it is presented in Haley's writings amounts to an ethic.

Perhaps the following observations may serve to indicate its range, including some of its strengths and limitations. In the first place, the reader and student must distinguish between what Haley understands by "honor" and what is nowadays called "respectability." Respectability, as it were, lops off the rough edges and smooths the sharp corners of honor as it was once understood. It sands down salients as "old fashioned." As an historical phenomenon, this degradation is observable as the secular bourgeois substitution of utilitarian morality for aristocratic virtue. In Haley's writings the distinction between respectability and honor is most often presented as a contrast between "the debilitating craze for conformity" and the fad- and fashion-mongering that goes with it, and the "remarkable individuality of the frontier characters" he depicts. This "remarkable individuality" is their honor, the evidence or mark of what Haley calls "superior nature."



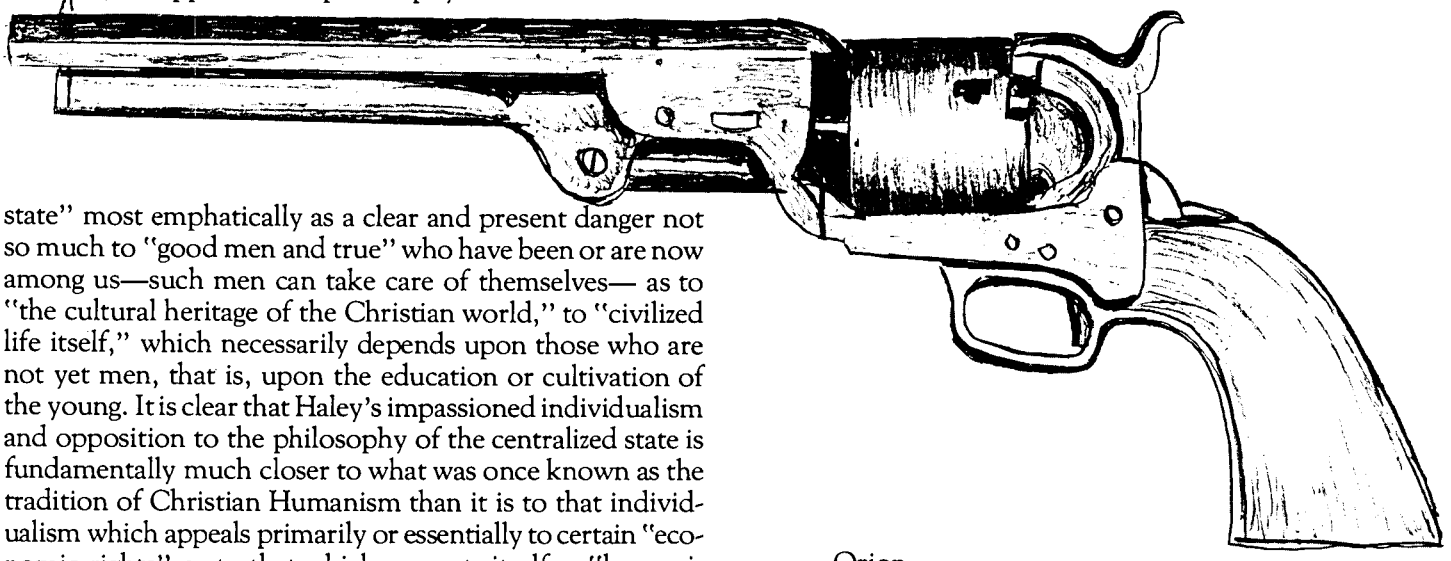
Honor, as the basis of true individualism, comprises the highest virtue, understood as aristocratic virtue or "valor deserving of admiration" on the one hand, and honesty, the virtue of "simple, unlettered, straightforward" men, or what Jane Austen's characters call "openness of manner," on the other. Haley would thus appear to agree with Thomas Hobbes that "Honor and honesty are but the same things in the different degrees of persons." But whereas Hobbes goes on to hold that virtue so comprised cannot provide the legal basis of the civil state, which conquers the state of nature (replacing it with security and easy convenience) in which justice is primarily prudent obedience of the sovereign's laws, whether the sovereign is monarchic or democratic, Haley holds that virtue so comprised does provide or is inseparable from the just basis of civil life and that justice is the obedience to just laws, or in other words, that justice is the only authority and honor of the law.

Haley nowhere in his published works analyzes and sets forth the theoretical foundations of justice thus understood, but he depicts this understanding in all of them. The acknowledgement that the honorable is above all that which is in accordance with nature is inseparable in Haley's writings from the association of the setting and the man of letters, explicitly in "Personal Justice on the Arizona Desert" and at least implicitly in all of his work, often under the rubric of what he calls "genuine character." This association finds its strongest and most mature presentation in his chapter "Fresh Lands and Far Horizons," where it is hardly too much to say that it receives a treatment of almost Greek dimension. We perhaps may begin to grasp the import of this association if we imagine for a moment that the place occupied by the understanding of nature in, say, an Artistotelian treatise on ethics (that is, a teleological understanding of nature), is filled by the setting in Haley's range histories: "an heroic stage."

The intimate association of these *elementa* is what makes Haley's writings all of a whole cloth, whatever their immediate topic, as well as what unifies his extraliterary activities whether public or private. A reviewer of his most recent editorial effort, *The Diary of Michael Erskine*, summarizes: "He always writes about something that matters: character, loyalty, the nature of responsibility." Indeed, this is his true purchase upon us, and the pursuit of the clarity about the association in question is thus what must guide the student of Haley's histories. It is, as we have mentioned, this same association which brings us into contact with the thought of Thomas Hobbes, which is to say with the *fons et origo* of the "Leviathan state" or of what Haley calls "the philosophy of the authoritarian state."

This philosophy is today very much with us, whether in vulgar form or in the more rigorous form given it by Hobbes' philosophical and ideological successors, as the horizon in which fundamental problems emerge broadly as such in terms of an antagonism between "collectivism" or "socialism" and "individualism." Haley passionately

and unreservedly embraces individualism. In so doing, however, he opposes "the philosophy of the authoritarian



state" most emphatically as a clear and present danger not so much to "good men and true" who have been or are now among us—such men can take care of themselves— as to "the cultural heritage of the Christian world," to "civilized life itself," which necessarily depends upon those who are not yet men, that is, upon the education or cultivation of the young. It is clear that Haley's impassioned individualism and opposition to the philosophy of the centralized state is fundamentally much closer to what was once known as the tradition of Christian Humanism than it is to that individualism which appeals primarily or essentially to certain "economic rights" or to that which presents itself as "humanitarianism." The deepest stratum of Haley's thought may be characterized as consisting of a tension between the ideal of the man of action, on the one hand, and the ideal of the man of letters, on the other, or in other words as the question of the primacy of theory or of practice, of word or of deed. The object of this thought does not change in Haley's writings from his earliest mature production to his latest. He pursues this object unswervingly and with increasing lucidity from the beginning. Simply, this object may be described as the heroic, and Haley's pursuit of it as, to use his own language, a "comment" on heroism.

The tension spoken of above has its origin in Haley's concern with heroism and hence with the setting for heroism, "the heroic stage." The typically Haleyean movement is compactly presented as in this paragraph from "A Day with Dan Casement" (1949):

> The lovely grass of the Folsom country, holding in animated suspense the soil and substance of the Old Cross L range, prompted stories of the loyal and untiring work of that reckless Prairie Cattle Company wagon boss, old Bob Haley, one of the greatest waddies that ever wasted effort in awkward cowboy walk.

The land is occasion for manliness: it leads Haley to men. This movement reaches its fullest expression in the unforgettable concluding image of "Fresh Lands of Far Horizons," the last chapter of Haley's family chronicle, where, having arrived at his own "last deed"—handing down—the heir of deeds past conjures up, in the solitude of his evening fire at a remote range camp, a memory of the old Bone Gatherer. The Bone Gatherer comes almost explicitly to represent the man of letters, a Conradian "secret sharer," as engaged in summary dialogue with the old Cowboy-Rancher, the man of action, before the bar of eternity. "I looked up and saw the Seven Sisters"—Homer's "Plaeides and late-setting Bootes,

> And the Bear, which they call, too, by the name of the Wagon,
> Which turns in one place and also points at Orion,
> And alone has no share in the washings of Oceanos
> —winking capriciously down on me."

Who is the rightful heir of deeds past? The old Cowboy-Rancher unequivocally affirms the life of action, and he seems to have the last word. But of course it is a mistake to see this figure simply as Haley or his affirmation as unambiguous. Who is the old Bone Gatherer—modest of being where the other is proud of the "struggle" of possession? He affirms another life. Haley describes him as "some old, lonely bewhiskered and bedraggled phantom," who, for the imaginative or the reflective, poses a query. In thinking about this query, one may be led more than once to consider, in comparison and contrast, Conrad's bedraggled phantom, the Harlequin, in "The Heart of Darkness":

> His very existence was improbable, inexplicable, and altogether bewildering. He was an insoluble problem.... Sometimes I [Marlow] ask myself whether I had really seen him—whether it was possible to meet such a phenomenon!...

Both spirits recede into the night as the narrators sleep.

We can provisionally summarize the import of this dialogue as it bears on Haley's writings by saying that the one figure embraces the "struggle, denial and challenge" that are the "prices of possession" in any age, the outcome of which struggle is death, the price of human life, while the other, the man of letters, engages in the struggle between the inherited past and the immediate future, a struggle whose outcome could preserve an as yet partially surviving tradition.

Yet while accurate and adequate as far as it goes, this gloss does not do full justice to Haley's works, for it ignores the tension inherent in the tradition, tension made explicit in the distinction between the Cowboy-Rancher and the Bone Gatherer, which arises from the fact that neither is finally reducible to the other. They represent fundamental, original alternatives, even though the former is prior to the latter in time. The one is limited and hence defined by death, whence his honor derives: he is (in the Greek sense) tragic in so far as he is equal to his death. The other "col-

The heroic westering work deserves an account from one whose language of the boot, saddle, lariat and spur equal Conrad's own possession of the deck and spar, line and sail. Haley's own work provides this heroic account.

lects death"; he is superior to death—in Haley's words, a "phantom"—and not a phantom of memory merely (now that he has been replaced by "progress") but a phantom "then," i.e., before "progress." What is the account of him? The reader may mistake the complexity of this tension as but the nostaglic recreation of the past. Yet, as Haley points out, "Nostalgia feeds the wells of sentiment." We are what we remember in so far as memory determines what we do, but Haley in teaching us what is memorable never replaces the ongoing struggle for morality with memory.

We may note as it were in passing that "progress"—including "believers in progress" ("cranks")—plays an apparently ephemeral role in the story of the Bone Gatherer and the Cowboy-Rancher. "Progress," boosterism, and anti-progressivism all are mere distractions from the fundamental question posed by these two figures. Haley dismisses them as so much escapism. "I have no obsessive desire to relive primitive times," but the distraction—the self-forgetfulness—of progressivism is unworthy of its setting. In another place he writes,

> Times have changed, we are truthfully told. But what we are not so truthfully told is... that the underlying principles of a free society, as well as the ambitions, basic motives, patterns of conduct and passions of men remain essentially the same.

In a word,

> Man changes little, and the lust for power not at all.

The "lust for power," animus of the man of action, is the primary human quality restrained by that man of action the Cowboy-Rancher. How it is restrained, i.e., by what other human quality, is the most important question to ask of the man of action. For lust, or human desire, is not restrained by lust, to say nothing of being restrained by technological progress. Hence one may say that, for Haley, the advantages of progress are always "dubious advantages." Progress as it is usually understood and preached is nothing more than a process of "magnifying our problems." There is no true, unambiguous progress possible for mere men beyond the dialogue concluding "Fresh Lands of Far Horizons." And it is the phantom-presence of the Bone Gatherer which provides this horizon, a glimpse beyond the struggle of possession, and his lingering "fragrance" which ironically brings "fresh air" out to the land.

This potency which is equal but dissimilar to the animus of the man of action is also taken up in the beginning of "personal Justice on the Arizona Desert," where the author distinguishes between flesh and blood action that is "antecedent to the electronic age" and the "simulated action and canned commercial spirit" of the "pale screen" behind which there is nothing significant for men. In contrast to one-dimensional shadows on the screen the people celebrated by Haley moved

> across a vast, real and rugged stage of half a continent of sweeping plain, rocky mountain, searing desert. It was an heroic stage for that vital action that was the essence of their life, and they were worthy of the setting....
>
> Which leads me, not unusually, to a story—a story of an unusual cowboy with a strain of Cherokee blood and Southern code of honor who worked his way from the Cross Timbers of Texas into the desert ranges of Arizona, and then for some reason unfathomable from the record, laid aside his rope and saddle but not his sixshooter—and, to use the term loosely, settled down to a "literary career."
>
> The desire for men in age to tell their stories... is psychologically understandable. But one wonders at the force, the very power of that compulsion that sometimes sends simple unlettered, straight-forward young men living colorful lives of action off to wrestle with the vast complexities of the written word.
>
> Their struggles, when we pause to consider their hard, patient, and sometimes pathetic efforts to reduce their thought to writing, have sometimes seemed to me equally heroic as their courageous deeds on the stage of action. And I have often thought that some compassionate master of the marvelous English word, some Conrad, sensing their struggles for light in "the heart of darkness," might well loose his pen to pay them the tribute their valor deserves.

The heroic westering work deserves an account from one whose langauge of the boot, saddle, lariat and spur equal Conrad's own possession of the deck and spar, line and sail. Haley's own work provides this heroic account. Yet, while this work as a whole clearly testifies to it more than to any other impluse, it does not explore that other powerful "compulsion" to which it above all points, a quest that is by admission at least equally heroic, beyond the glimpse provided by the Bone Gatherer and the bones in "Fresh Land of Far Horizons." That quest, which is identified as the

In Haley's writings the land, its particular value-giving quality as setting, its ineluctable if capricious presence as a fundamental repository or exemplar of significance, is what is characteristically Southern,...

more Conradian, recedes in the service of the other. Hence where we might have reasonably expected it, we find rather a brief illustration of personal (and social) justice. It is possible that the reason for this—the replacement of the exploration of the writer's "struggle for light" with a story of the relation of law and justice—is to be found in the connection perceived of old (and shown for example in Plato's *Laws*) between what Haley describes as the "compulsion" toward writing and the awareness of what he calls simply "the law."

As we have pointed out in connection with his ruling concern for ethics and ultimately for heroism, in short, for honor, Haley's characteristic production is not fiction but biography. His biographies have been praised by reviewers as with one voice for their historical accuracy and for their lack of the kind of "romance" that is typically (with whatever presence or absence of understanding) associated with Southern—and Western—efforts. Yet, at the same time, the subjects of his biographies are often presented as one would gloss an epic hero or the leading character of a novel, viz., in relation to what is called "setting" or, more generally, in terms drawn from analogy to pictoral art. This is testimony no less to the craft of Haley's writing than to the appeal the subjects naturally have among men. For example, in language reminiscent of Haley's own in *Those Who Came Before Us*, J. Frank Dobie observed of the Goodnight biography that

> Goodnight [was a] powerful individual and extraordinary observer, [who] summed up in himself the whole life of range and trail [and] Haley's book, packed with realities of incident and character, paints him against a mighty background.

M.E. Bradford observes more fully of the same work that it

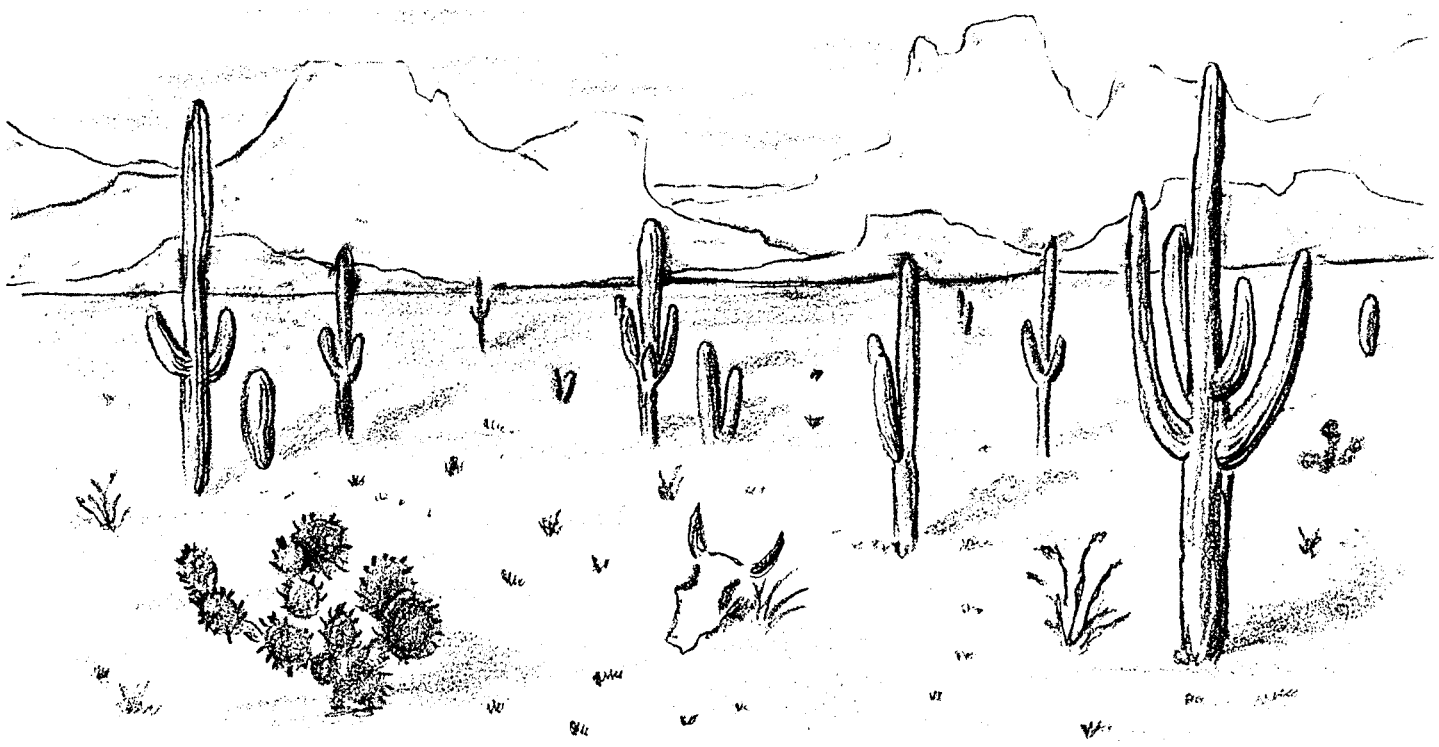
> is a central document in the literature of the Southwest—as much a work of art as it is a study of a man and a culture.... Its response is to a whole man, and particularly to the verve and exuberance, honor and courage with which he performed in creating a world. Here, of course, is another epic analogy. For Haley's chosen exemplars are either founders or models of their frontier milieu. They make or sustain something, sum it up in themselves.

Rupert N. Richardson paraphrases Haley's own dictum, "worthy of the setting," to which we have been attentive in the foregoing pages, in reporting that the Goodnight biography is

> the life story of a notable and most unique cattleman, a book in keeping with the stature of the subject.

These comments perhaps suffice to show that Haley sums up in his own works all the qualities of the novelist, whether despite or because of the fact that his works are not novels.

Repeating the terms these writers employ is enough to have us recall that "setting" in any work is never "merely" setting, neutral, "value-free," pointless, but is always an elemental part of the whole. Setting often "makes the point" of a work; it always makes the point possible. In Haley's writings the land, its particular value-giving quality as setting, its ineluctable if capricious presence as a fundamental repository or exemplar of significance, is what is characteristically Southern, and thus what distinguishes Haley's Southwestern works from the typical fare of New England or Western literature, to say nothing of "pop" or vulgar regionalism. ⊠



A PARTISAN CONVERSATION

Phyllis Schlafly

On the day ERA died (June 30, 1982) Phyllis Schlafly threw an "Over the Rainbow" celebration party in Washington. Over 2,000 people came.

"Over the Rainbow," according to Mrs. Schlafly, signified the hope that follows a storm, a promise of better things to come. But there could easily have been a double significance, reminding us of the Wizard of Oz. *The wicked witch ERA was dead. For Dorothy and her followers, it was a time for rejoicing.*

The morning after the party, Phyllis Schlafly gave this Partisan *interview to South Carolina State Senator Norma Russell, who first met Mrs. Schlafly in 1973 at a meeting of the Eagle Forum in St. Louis. That year, Senator Russell (who is now the Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor in South Carolina) joined the National Order of Women Legislators, an organization that had long endorsed ERA. From the time that Norma and a group of her colleagues joined the ERA Resolution was never endorsed again by that organization. Senator Russell was also a leader in the successful fight to defeat ERA in the South Carolina State Legislature.*

So two old friends were looking back with satisfaction on a long and difficult struggle. Mrs. Schlafly, the woman George Gilder recently called "the greatest political leader of our time," talked easily about ERA, women, the family, the media and more...

Norma Russell

PARTISAN: *Is ERA really dead? Or do you think that—like the female suffrage movement—it'll keep coming back and ultimately succeed?*

SCHLAFLY: No, it will not succeed. The ERA as a constitutional amendment is dead.

It will take its place in history along with the Prohibition Amendment and the Child Labor Amendment as ideas that did not get enough support from the American people.

However, what we have in this country is a media so hysterically in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment that I think they will endeavor to keep it alive. The media gave ERA an artificial life in the last three years after ERA died morally and legally and constitutionally, at the end of the seven year period. It does appear that the radical ERA supporters, along with their friends in the media, will continue to flap around on this subject in order to use it as a fund raiser, as a campaign tactic, against certain pro-family candidates whom they want to defeat.

They are doing this in full knowledge that they have no reasonable hope of getting it into the constitution, but they think with their use of the media they will be able to deceive enough people so that it can be a useful campaign gimmick.

PARTISAN: *What do you say to the old fashioned conservatives who say women should stay home and raise children and clean house? That women should not cross over roles and compete with men in the marketplace?*

SCHLAFLY: Of course I have never said that all women ought to stay home. I think that on an individual basis, each woman has the opportunity and the right to select her own career and her own priorities, but having said that, I think the majority of women, the good majority of women, would voluntarily choose husband, family, and children as her major priority.

Now because of the great success of the American private enterprise system, the number of hours per week that it takes to do what was traditionally woman's work, has been so reduced that women have many other hours in their weeks and years to engage in other activities. In addition to that, women will support themselves for a certain number of years before they get married and many women will re-enter the labor force after the children are grown. I do think that if a woman has children, her first obligation is to the children.

The more we learn about the behavior of children, the more I am convinced that the early years are the most important years of anyone's life. And I do think that children need the round-the-clock loving care of a mother in the home. This is not degrading, demeaning, confining, imprisoning, or any of those things. I've done a great many very interesting things in my life, but nothing produces the sense of achievement, fulfillment, the lifetime satisfaction of having a happy marriage, and successful, achieving, well-adjusted children.

PARTISAN—*Should there be equality in marriage? Or do you subscribe to the more traditional view that the husband should dominate?*

SCHLAFLY: As I look about the world today, it appears to me that successful organizations have one final authority. In the United States, we have a President and Vice President. The Vice President is not equal to the President, he is not a co-president. Look at the successful corporations, they all operate with a President and then lesser officers. You don't have

successful organizations with divided authority.

I am perfectly satisfied with the marriage structure where the husband is the final authority. I don't think that makes women subordinate or lesser or that it is demeaning to women. I think that it is simply part of the compromise that is necessary for success.

The Women's Liberation Movement teaches women that they must seek their own self fulfillment over every other goal: "Anybody can do whatever she wants to do, it is a free country." But that attitude toward life is not compatible with a happy marriage. I think that a happy lifetime marriage is worth the sacrifice, placing somebody else's welfare ahead of your own. The whole role of motherhood is necessarily self-sacrifice. A good marriage is worth the price you pay.

PARTISAN: *Where do you stand on trial marriages? Do you think the modern practice of "living together" for a time out of wedlock is an evil that threatens the family unit or is it a useful way to test relationships?*
SCHLAFLY: Trial marriages are absolutely immoral. I believe that the modern practice of living together threatens the family unit. It is *not* a useful way to test relationships. The relationship of a man and woman is necessarily very possessive. Most people don't like to share their mate with others.

Unfortunately a lot of young people are told that sex is okay as long as they feel comfortable about it, as long as they have a temporary loving relationship outside of marriage and outside of a long term commitment that goes into building a family, is simply not fulfilling in the long run. Of course, I think these temporary sexual relationships are against God's plan and God's law. But even apart from that, they won't produce happy and well-adjusted people.

PARTISAN: *Now that the ERA battle is over, to what do you attribute your success in the movement to STOP-ERA? You probably have a thirty minute and a thirty second version on this question. Give us the thirty second answer.*
SCHLAFLY: Okay. We had the will to win, we had a sound strategy, we developed a trained corps of workers, mostly women, and some men. We asked God's blessing on our movement. We were right. And we told the truth about ERA.

PARTISAN: *But isn't that pretty difficult considering the bias of the media?*
SCHLAFLY: Yes, it is extremely difficult because we have the media against us. But I think by sticking to the actual amendment and its effects, and not being diverted into the side issues or personalities, we were able to maintain long term credibility.

PARTISAN: *Yet most all the polls and surveys consistently showed a popular majority support for ERA. How do you square that with the belief in small "d" democracy?*
SCHLAFLY: Most of the polls about ERA are very false. If you ask a biased question, you get a biased answer. Most of the polls on ERA will say something like: "Are you for the Equal Rights Amendment which would give equal rights to women?" Now that puts it in a very prejudicial way. Who wants to say he is against women?

Other polls will say something like: "Those who are for women's rights are for the Equal Rights Amendment, are you for ERA?" Well, you can see how prejudiced that is. Or they will use only the first section of ERA when they read the amendment.

In my opinion most of the established polls have designed the questions in order to produce a yes answer. But the best polls are in the ballot box, where ERA has been on a referendum, and it is usually defeated. It was decisively defeated in 1980 in Iowa, 1978 in Florida and Nevada, 1975 in New York and New Jersey, and 1973 in Wisconsin.

PARTISAN: *In South Carolina, for four years in a row, proponents of ERA kept the ERA resolution from coming out of the Judiciary Committee. They did not want it to go to the people for a referendum. Did you find that case in any other state?*
SCHLAFLY: That was our experience in many states. I know they tried it in Virginia and they had the same experience. In Illinois, our people proposed a referendum resolution again and again, and the ERA proponents always voted it down.

PARTISAN: *June 30, 1982 was the expiration date on ERA. For the occasion, you held an "Over the Rainbow" party to celebrate its demise. What's the significance of the reference to the Wizard of Oz?*
SCHLAFLY: I chose the rainbow because it's cheerful, it has the connotation that we have come through the storm, that we're looking at a bright, sunny tomorrow.

A rainbow is a beautiful thing and rainbows mean the storm has past. I wanted this celebration to be like a college commencement. In other words, it is not an end, but a beginning—a beginning of a new life and a new vigor for the pro-family movement.

Of course, the rainbow also has a religious meaning. We know in Genesis, the Lord said he would put his bow, it reads bow, but it clearly means rainbow, in the clouds as a covenant between the Lord and His people. I think it was a happy symbolism for our celebration banquet.

PARTISAN: *How do you react to your critics who say you want your cake and eat it too, that you want the benefits of equality without the legal burdens and responsibilities?*
SCHLAFLY: We do not believe in a strict across the board equality of treatment between men and women in every law and every regulation. That is one of the reasons we oppose the Equal Rights Amendment. We believe that women should be treated equally with men in those areas where women can compete equally with men, but in those areas where women cannot compete equally, it is grievously unfair to treat them the same.

Women are just as smart as men, women can compete equally with men in intellectual pursuits, political pursuits, and a lot of business pursuits, but when it comes to those areas that involve physical strength and pregnancy, that's a different matter.

I do not understand the person who says that just because a woman should have the same pay on a job with a man where the two of them are doing equal work, that that means

women must be drafted into the army to fight our country's wars. It is pretty clear from all history that women are simply not suitable to be sent out on the battlefield to fight enemy men, and when it comes to the marriage relationship, you just have to live with the fact that women have babies and men don't have babies. To pretend the difference is not there does not make sense.

PARTISAN: *Where do you stand on the amendment to bring back prayer in public schools and the Pro-Life Amendment proposals?*
SCHLAFLY: I support the amendment to bring prayer back into the public schools. Prayers were said in schools in this country from the time our nation was founded until 1962 when all of a sudden the Supreme Court discovered, or invented is a better word, this new "right" of an atheist to prevent everybody else in the school room from praying. I think the Supreme Court decision was outrageous, I think the American people want the right to pray in public schools. It's a shame we have to have a constitutional amendment to override a bad court decision, but since that seems to be the only way to do it, I do support the Prayer Amendment.

I am pro-life and against abortion, and I support pro-life amendments. I have not taken a position on particular wording, but I think abortion is a terrible thing. The fact that a million and a half pre-born babies are being killed every year in this country is a scandal.

PARTISAN: *What is your view of the Moral Majority and the so-called "Religion Right?"*
SCHLAFLY: Jerry Falwell provided a great service to our country in showing many of the fundamentalist Christians that they have the constitutional right to participate in the process of self-government. I think one of the reasons why this country got in the bad direction that it has been taking in the last few years was that many of the best people, the most moral, family-oriented, God-fearing people in this country, even the kind of people who go to church twice a week, simply did not participate in the political process. We owe Jerry Falwell a debt of gratitude for getting several million good Christians to exercise their constitutional rights and vote for good candidates.

PARTISAN: *Should creationism be taught in our schools along side the Evolution Theory?*
SCHLAFLY: I think we ought to have equal time for God in this creation-evolution controversy. What we've had in the schools in the last ten years is a teaching of the dogma of secular humanism which leads children to believe that God has no part in the creation or direction of the world. We've had a real censorship of religion and God-given morality.

I think it is their religious beliefs and to refuse to allow any recognition of or any respect for the religious convictions of children and their parents.
PARTISAN:*What do you think of Senators East, Helms and Thurmond?*
SCHLAFLY: I think Senator Helms is one of the greatest living Americans, I have the highest regard for him. I am a great admirer of Senator East. And Senator Thurmond is one of the most remarkable men in public life. I have admired him for many years.

PARTISAN: *How do you account for the concentration of opposition to the ERA in the South?*
SCHLAFLY: There are several reasons for opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment in the South. The first reason was that most of the southern legislatures were not in session in 1972 when ERA came out of Congress. Opposition to ERA did not crystalize until the fall of 1972, so that when the southern legislatures went into session in 1973, at least there were some people there able to speak against it. Those people had not been available in the legislatures that met in the spring of 1972 and passed ERA without hearing a debate.

The second reason for the opposition to ERA in the South is that Southerners recognized early the tremendous shift of power to the Federal Government that was involved in Section 11 of ERA. They did not want to give the Federal Government any more power. Now I think the rest of the states in the country feel that way too, but the Southern states recognized the danger sooner.

The third reason why the Southern states are particularly opposed to the ERA is that most of the Southern states have laws giving great preferential benefits to women. When the Georgia legislature analyzed its laws in terms of sex discrimination they found that 97 of them favored women and 3 of them favored men. So the women in the Southern states rightly saw that ERA would do nothing but take away rights they now have.

Of course, I come from Illinois, and we have fought ERA more often and defeated it more often than anyplace else. So the Land of Lincoln is proud to have defeated ERA more than twice as often as any other state in the country.
PARTISAN: *But don't you agree that without the conservative thinking people of the southeastern United States, your job would have been much harder in this ten year battle?*
SCHLAFLY: That's right, we could not have won without the South, no question about it. The South has provided about ten of the fifteen states that went against ERA.

PARTISAN: *So the South really sort of put the icing on the cake?*
SCHLAFLY: We are very grateful for the Southern opposition to ERA —we could not have won without you.

PARTISAN: *Do you agree with those conservatives who say President Reagan has compromised too much?*
SCHLAFLY: I am very supportive of Ronald Reagan and what he is trying to do. Obviously, he isn't perfect, but nobody's perfect and he has a tremendous job to do, one of the most difficult jobs that an incoming president has ever faced. Of course, there are a few things I would like to see done better, but I am not inclined to be very critical of Ronald Reagan. I think he is a wonderful man and he is doing the best he can with a very difficult situation. ⊠

ESSAYS

The Shining Spirits

by Jeffrey St. John

Why the South Will Survive, by Fifteen Southerners. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1981.

As a naturalized Southerner (born in the North but educated in the South) it is a delight to discover this hard intellectual diamond among the soft dunghills of contemporary American publishing.

The fifteen separate essays contained in this work deserve the grace of the reader's gratitude. It is hard for the young today to survive the murder of the mind that produces pygmy leaders at all levels. The majority of the essays in this work have been written by young Southern scholars who are giants. Each has taken the time to discover the roots and reality of Southern society, as opposed to the fostered falsehoods taught in the penal colonies of public education. It takes a person endowed with a tough and inquiring intellect to affirm the unconventional notion that, indeed, the American South will not only survive but has intellectual, moral, and social values worthy of examination by the rest of the nation.

The revisionist Southern historian David Leon Chandler in his much-neglected 1977 book, "The Natural Superiority of Southern Politicians," makes the often-ignored point that Southerners founded America. Jamestown, Virginia, preceded Plymouth, Massachusetts, by thirteen years. The two founding political charters of the American Republic were written by Southerners: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, and Madison's U.S. Constitution. The South has produced a profusion of literary and military talent unequalled by other parts of the nation. Yet, despite these undeniable facts, the South continues to be viewed by the rest of America with a mixture of condescension, undisguised hatred and admiration for the region's rawbone approach to living.

The late lamented Southern historian Clifford Dowdey wrote during the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence in 1976 that its official celebration demonstrated that the South was still regarded as a region unfit to rejoin the Union. The focus of the Bicentennial was largely on New England, ignoring if not blurring the role and part Southerners played in the making of the American Republic. After 1865 and Appomattox, Dowdey stated, Southerners became the largest group of "unmentionable ethnics in the nation."

"For Lincoln did not save the union," Dowdey adds, "the military might he amassed destroyed one of the original parts of America, and after his death powerful men of ambition formed a new union to which the South, after a period of military occupation which completed the war's destruction, was a poor stigmatized attachment.

What unites all these brilliant essays is that they are rooted in the classical world reaching back to Greece and Rome. Perhaps of paramount importance is they are also rooted in the rockbed of religious belief.

"It's only one example of omissions to make no mention of the reality for half its existence, the U.S. was in effect two nations. This so falsifies the journey of America from Jamestown... as to reduce realities to empty slogans. In the last quarter of the 20th century with the West in disarray whilst the Soviet giant looms menacingly, I do not believe that as a nation we can maintain a high morale with a combination of ignorance and delusion about itself."

Dowdey specifically mentions the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution in 1987, warning that if we are to survive as a free people to celebrate the event it is necessary to correct a multitude of delusions and distortions.

Why the South Will Survive serves as an indispensable primer as we work our way toward the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. What unites all these brilliant essays is that they are rooted in the classical world reaching back to Greece and Rome. Perhaps of paramount importance is they are also rooted in the rockbed of religious belief. These two pillars—classical thought and revealed faith—formed the foundation of the American Republic and produced the U.S. Constitution. It in turn sustained the most extraordinary experiment in human history until Appomattox in 1865.

The shipwreck that was the U.S. Civil War, or War Between the States, ran the U.S. Constitution onto political reefs from which it has never been retrieved. But it also produced lethal fissures in the pillars of religious faith and in classical learning. Gradually over the last century as Americans

lost their belief in the value of the next world and lost their belief in the experience of the ancient wisdoms as guidelines in this world, they began to believe they could play God with government.

The American South was never contaminated by the "metaphysical madness" of the French Revolution, as John Randolph of Roanoke put it. The fissures the French heresies created in Western Civilization were that man was a god and that the past could offer him no real guidance for the future. The State became the Church, materialism became the highest secular sacrament, and power the highest holy order. The American Revolution had proceeded from the opposite premises. And as the historian Otto J. Scott observed, the dramatic differences between the two revolutions, often confused as being similar, were that "Washington never left a trail of corpses or became a Napoleon."

The late Richard Weaver, in *The Southern Tradition at Bay*, pointed out that the War Between the States was regarded by the South's leadership, steeped in classical tradition and religious belief, as a continuation of the French Revolution. The war was a violent clash between ideals and ideas of the American Revolution and the metaphysical madness of the French Revolution. Perhaps this comparison defeats the ends of propagandists who persist in promoting the myth and distortion that the conflict was waged to free American blacks. Prior to Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, the major justification for the war of conquest and subjugation was to preserve the Union, not to end slavery.

How the South survived its hundred years of hard history after Appomattox can be grasped by reading these thoughtful essays. It survived by clinging tenaciously to the salvaged remnants of the religious and cultural legacy that had created the American nation. The South was destroyed physically, but never spiritually or culturally. The North after 1865 never understood this spiritual and cultural wellspring of the South. Blinded and obsessed by the issue of race and equality, the North even today does not fathom why the South prefers to be wrong in its way rather than right in the ways of others. The disintegration in the last few decades of sectors of American society outside the South raises the question of who really won the Civil War in the long run.

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Clyde N. Wilson, professor of history at the University of South Carolina, in the introduction to *Why the South Will Survive*, raises the question of whether the South is the only region with any identity left. "The Southerner may be justified," he observes, "in wondering whether there is any *American* culture any more, whether America is anything other than a collection of people sharing a common territory, government, and standard of living, but otherwise having no identity."

John Shelton Reed, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, points out that what still survives in the South is "what used to be seen as the American trait of individualism." This shared value of Southerners encompasses other aspects of the region's culture that places a premium on the personal and the subjective while rejecting the collective that has done so much to create the impersonal, faceless and unfeeling society outside the South. "Just as Southerners are expected," Reed writes, "to work out their own salvation without calling on the formal institutional apparatus of church, priest, and sacrament, so we have often been inclined to work out our own justice without running off to the legislature or the courts."

The traditional Protestant Southerner's view that salvation is always personal is consistent with the view first concretized by the Framers of the U.S. Constitution: that power politics must not be seen as the source of societal salvation, as is the case today. However, this personal approach of Southerners is not without its explosive elements. William C. Havard, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University, candidly concedes that the "proclivity toward violence in the South is also related in no small part to Southern personalism." But Havard maintains such violence is easier to understand and control since it stems from a personal code of honor that insists injury and injustice find a direct means for redress. Not so with "the abstract, depersonalized violence that now seems endemic to the American megalopolis, old North and new South alike."

The American South endured defeat, poverty, military occupation and decades of deliberate distortion and attack on its society of shared values, on religion, family, and work. Both whites and blacks have shared these hardships. As a consequence, the South was better prepared to cope with the defeat in Vietnam and the Watergate trauma. Fred Hobson, associate professor of English at the University of Alabama, makes the salient point in his essay that while the nation seems to have been demoralized by Vietnam and Watergate, the South and Southwest, now called the Sunbelt after decades of derisive references as the Bible Belt, is booming. "Its optimism," he observes of the Sunbelt philosophy, "and confidence have replaced, or at least modified, the Southern legacy of failure, pessimism, and looking backward... For the first time since 1930, the South has dropped its defensive stance and speaks from a position of strength, even presumed superiority."

Hamilton C. Horton, Jr., a North Carolina attorney and former leader in the state's General Assembly, maintains that the Southern love of and attachment to the land is a check on the region embracing uncritically the Bitch Goddess of material progress

at any cost. Delay in industrialization has been a blessing. Since the South is also blessed with an abundance of woods, streams, and rivers, where industry has relocated in small Southern towns farming, hunting, and fishing can coexist in merging patterns that keep the young from leaving. It has also, according to Horton, "saved the family farm. Thousands of Southern farm families today supplement the income from their farms with income from industrial jobs." The South, he adds, may "well be the first major region in the world to be industrialized and yet preserve the human dimensions. Megalopolis can be rejected."

The abundance of small towns in the South with industry and stabilized populations has achieved without the Washington bureaucrats' blueprints the key element that has eluded the North: population dispersal. Combined with its fidelity to the Founding Fathers' philosophy of limits to political power to declare martial law in the marketplace, is it any wonder that the South has been the beneficiary of one of the largest inter-territorial migrations in history? The exodus from the Snowbelt to the Sunbelt in the last two decades by population and industry has been the direct consequence of governments in the North playing god with the lives and fortunes of the productive for the benefit of the nonproductive. Equality plus political power equals ruin and exodus!

Don Anderson, executive director of the National Association for the Southern Poor, raises important questions of how to come to grips with the pervasive problem of poverty among Southern blacks. As a former staff member in the House of Representatives he identifies why the Great Society's War on Poverty was a forecast of the American defeat in Vietnam. The Great Society advocates wrongly assumed that massive numbers of the poor require massive blueprints. It was not until Anderson returned to the place in Virginia where his forebears had been slaves that he discovered the cultural dimension of the Southern black society, with its center in the black church. Anderson is part of a growing group of blacks who have come home to the South from a North that proved not to be the Promised Land. "It seemed appropriate to me," he writes, "in attempting to solve the main problem [poverty] confronting the Negro people in the South, that I should put to work the ideas of Virginia's greatest political philosopher, Thomas Jefferson. He believed that the salvation of the idea of democracy lay in his ward republics." Such decentralized centers of black self help would become a manageable vehicle for "taking the last step up from slavery."

Such a concept is consistent with the Southern political tradition, as detailed by George C. Rogers, Jr., professor of history at the University of South Carolina. In a Republic, he reminds us, power must be fragmented and broken up if it is not to be lethal to a people's lives and liberties. The great tragedy and mistake of the South was to use the core creed of the Founders of placing limits on political power to justify the continuation of slavery. "The Southern political tradition must be brought back," he writes, "first by protecting the state governments from edicts from the federal bureaucracy—the attempt to mould each state government into one form certified at the center."

During the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence, the question constantly asked, but never answered, was how it was that so extraordinary a group of human beings could come together in one place and at one time. Thomas Fleming, the South's pre-eminent classicist, answers the question.

Dr. Samuel T. Francis, former policy analyst with The Heritage Foundation in Washington and now an aide to Senator John East of North Carolina, maintains that the South's political tradition offers to the nation and the world a way out of its self-induced paralysis as a world power. Its tradition of loyalty and command coupled with its insistence on restraint of power, he argues, would be an alternative to the current American foreign policy that has persisted since the time of Woodrow Wilson, that Americans could successfully be the welfare workers of the world. "The global complaint against the United States today," he writes, "is that capitalism and industrial technology, democracy, mass culture, and Western liberalism, have undermined traditional cultures. This complaint—far more than the economics of slavery or the legalism of the Constitution—also underlay much of the Confederate revolt."

During the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence, the question constantly asked, but never answered, was how it was that so extraordinary a group of human beings could come together in one place and at one time. Thomas Fleming, the South's pre-eminent classicist, answers the question. It will no doubt be asked again when we observe the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution five years hence. Both the Signers of the Declaration and the Framers of the Constitution were the beneficiaries of a classical education. In contrast, the crisis-ridden public education system today raises profound questions about how long both the South and the nation can endure when a public education system institutionalizes illiteracy.

"The people of the South have always preferred informal arrangements between families and friends," he writes "to the abstractions of government machinery. The South's long-standing prejudice against public education was based on a frank appraisal of the perils of government interference in the very private matter of child rearing.... However, for practical purposes, the creation of public school systems in the South was achieved under Reconstruction and on imported models." The murder of mind and morals by the penal colonies of public education has led to the development of Christian schools in the South, relentlessly attacked by every means at the disposal of the Educational Establishment. Mind

monopoly that leads to moral murder tolerates no disagreement. Fleming believes, rightly, that despite their shortcomings and "all their faults, imagined and real, these new schools and the associations which protect them are the future of the South."

Why the South Will Survive also contains essays on Southern religion by Cleanth Brooks, Marion Montgomery, and Thomas H. Landess, on Southern literature by George Garrett, on the meaning of "country music" by David B. Sentelle, and a historical summing up by M.E. Bradford.

Which brings us to how the book, *Why the South Will Survive*, came to be. Its publication is to pay proper homage to the 1931 classical work, *I'll Take My Stand*. Andrew Lytle, one of the original contributors to this epic work, now a classic, provides an "Afterword" essay to conclude this intellectual landmark and milestone in Southern letters. It has been fifty years since *I'll Take My Stand* burst upon the world with all of its prophetic warnings from those angry Southern Agrarians who discerned the coming of a domestic darkness at noon. Lytle despairs that the work failed to hold back the growth of machine and technology that posed so powerful a threat to those values that produce a high humane culture.

I must respectfully dissent from this despair. By the time *I'll Take My Stand* was published, it had been sixty-six years since the Stillness at Appomattox. The economic, social, and political forces produced by the violent rupture of the American Republic could not have been contained under any circumstances. One practical example is the important part that railroads played in the conflict in tieing together the nation. The forces unleashed by the war were much like an atomic detonation; first comes the searing heat of the explosion, the shockwave that follows must run its course and dissipate its terrible energy. So it was with the War Between the States. Without sounding deterministic, one seriously questions whether anything could have held back or redirected the intellectual, moral, political, social and economic consequences of that conflict.

I'll Take My Stand was to my mind a success in the most important sense, as expressed by T.S. Eliot. It kept alive a constellation of values by which future men and women, Northerners and Southerners, could set their own intellectual and moral compass. The proof of this is contained in the very work that is the subject of this review.

John Randolph of Roanoke saw with corrosive clarity the calamity that befell the American Republic fully a generation before the flash of cannon at Fort Sumter. While he despaired at being a Cassandra, he never once wavered in his belief that he had a moral duty to speak his mind to his colleagues in the Congress with candor and conviction. He fulfilled his moral obligation and, as a consequence, has earned a special and cherished place in the pantheon of American political heroes.

The same must be said of those who made possible *I'll Take My Stand* and this new generation who has labored to produce *Why the South Will Surive*. If, in the final analysis, all of us who wage the war of words to preserve those values that make us humane thinking and feeling individuals are just so many modern-day Ciceros, so what? We have discharged our duty to our God, our selves, our family and friends, and to our country. If others will not listen and learn, our God-granted intellectual and moral mission is done and it is a problem, not for us, but for them. ⊠

Jeffrey St. John is the author of Jimmy Carter's Betrayal of the South, *published in 1976 and* History As a Political Weapon, *published by The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C. He has been a national broadcast news commentator for over fifteen years on CBS Radio and TV, NBC-TV, and the Mutual Broadcasting System. At present he is a national correspondent for the nation's new daily newspaper, the* Washington Times. *He lives in Randolph, Virginia, and is struggling to complete* Cassandra on Horseback: The Prophetic Political Philosophy of John Randolph of Roanoke.

MOVING PICTURES

How Red Was John Reed?

by Nathaniel Weyl

Reds, written, directed and produced by Warren Beatty, 1981.

To be a hero or to become a legend, one must know when to die.

Fortunately for John Reed, he perished of typhus at age 33 during the springtime of the Bolshevik Revolution and was buried in the Soviet holy of holies, the Kremlin wall. There he rests together with such Communist immortals as Felix Dzerzhinsky, the creator of the Soviet secret police.

At the time of his death, Reed had written two or three fine journalistic accounts of war and revolution in an immediate and vivid style which foreshadowed Ernest Hemingway. The most important of these was his eyewitness account of the Bolshevik seizure of power, *Ten Days That Shook The World*. These accounts were marred by an immature pseudomachismo, an insensitivity to human suffering, and a persistent propensity to find heroes to place on pedestals. John Reed's heroes were an incongruous lot: the Mexican cutthroat, Pancho Villa; the IWW leader, Big Bill Haywood; and, finally, Leon Trotsky and Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. Reed also wrote second-rate verse and a large number of mawkish and immature love letters.

If Reed had lived, he might have become the leader of the American Communist Party, an office to which he aspired, or else the guiding spirit of some communist splinter group (his dying words, according to a not-always-reliable source were, "caught in a trap"). In either event, he would have spent dreary years in sultry in-

John Reed was reincarnated by Warren Beatty's masterful propaganda film* Reds *with co-star Diane Keaton.

trigues and the meretricious bickerings of an insignificant sect. He would have been stripped of glamor, soon forgotten, and dismissed as merely another young man of talent who had sacrificed his abilities to a corrupt and evil cause.

But, having died young, John Reed had two reincarnations, which is more than most of us can aspire to. The first was the John Reed Clubs of the 1930s—a network of fellow traveler organizations that enticed writers, artists and professors into an anti-fascist ambience in which sex was more freely available than elsewhere and in which they could drink the heady wine of revolution without facing its perils.

The second reincarnation is the masterly propaganda film, *Reds*, ably directed by Warren Beatty, who also plays the star role. This film has caused a great deal of controversy. The *Daily World*, official organ of the American Communist Party, enthused: "There is no comparison between this epic and anything Hollywood has touched concerning the Soviet Union..." After a White House showing of the film, President Reagan hosted co-stars Beatty and Keaton. Like William F. Buckley, Jr., the President judged that *Reds* would convert no one to Communism.

The Soviet Government apparently sees the John Reed story in a different light. I am informed that it is spending $50 million on a propaganda film on Reed's activities in the Mexican Revolution, no doubt to inspire Red guerrilla forces throughout Hispanic America, and another $100 million on an October Revolution epic in which Reed will be a central figure. Thus, a bureaucratic state, corrupt, devoid of ideological faith, and moving toward a frozen hierarchy of status and power, may wish to inspire its followers with the recreating of a romanticized version of its birth.

Reds is panoramically splendid. With two exceptions, the acting is excellent. The device of a chorus of venerable eyewitnesses to the events it both describes and falsifies is effective. It is faithful to history in matters of inconsequential detail.

Seen as a whole, however, the film must be characterized as duplicitous pro-communist propaganda. To be sure, Emma Goldman denounces Lenin's regime as a tyranny, but Reed rejects this view. The orientation and intent of the picture is revealed by such details as using the rising crescendo of the *Internationale* as the musical background for the copulation of the two protagonists.

The first big lie is the implication that the Bolshevik Revolution was a movement of the masses to bring democracy to oppressed Russia. To be sure, there are a few hints that a democratic government functioned in Russia between the overthrow of the Czar in February 1917 and the Bolshevik putsch in November of the same year, but these hints are confused and the democratic leaders are presented as weak, befuddled, incapable figureheads.

All this is, of course, totally false. The Bolshevik Revolution succeeded, as we now know from German documents made available after the Nazi defeat in 1945, primarily because the German Government subsidized Lenin and his party to the equivalent of 40 million gold marks in current purchasing power.

Russia and Germany were at war. The German purpose was to destroy the fighting ability of the Russian army, thus freeing the German divisions on the Eastern Front for the great offensive planned for the spring of 1918 (the *Kaiserschlacht*) that was to knock France out of the War before American strength could be mobilized in overwhelming force—a gambit that almost succeeded.

The Bolsheviks were given the money because they were the only Russian party treasonable enough to accept it. Lenin continued to receive these German subsidies for about a year. They were used to finance a vast chain of subversive newspapers, which were distributed among the soldiers with the recommendation that they kill their officers and overthrow the government, to finance travelling agitators, to bribe corrupt officials and officers, etc. The rival democratic parties had no such financial resources and were therefore at a decisive disadvantage.

The film shows Lenin haranguing Russian mobs on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution. Utterly false. He was in hiding in Finland, wanted by

the authorities to answer charges of treason as a paid German agent. He sneaked into Petrograd on the eve of the seizure of power disguised as a woman.

Warren Beatty's film seeks to depict the Bolshevik Revolution as a liberating democratic force. It was nothing of the kind and John Reed would have been the first to agree with this verdict.

Democratic elections had been held throughout Russia shortly before the Bolshevik power seizure. The vast majority of Russian workers and peasants repudiated the Bolsheviks and left them a hopeless minority. Hence, Lenin sent in troops and ejected the elected representatives of the Russian people. John Reed knew this. He was there. He reported it. And he approved wholeheartedly.

Interestingly enough, John Reed and Louise Bryant saw the Bolshevik Revolution differently. Reed hero-worshipped the two ruthless and successful Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky (but failed to mention Stalin as unimportant). Louise Bryant found Trotsky "much more human than Lenin," characterized Lenin as "cold, unattractive," had "tremendous respect" for Russia's last democratic leader, Alexander Kerensky, as a man who "tried so passionately to hold Russia together..." Another demo-

John Reed

cratic leader, Tseretelli, in her opinion, towered above all the others as Abraham Lincoln towered above his contemporaries. But it was not a time for men of towering moral stature; it was the day of the implacable, single-minded, ideologically obsessed intellectual cutthroat.

The second big lie was to present John Reed as a decent American reformer who hated war and wanted a better world. Reed was one of those truants from the upper classes of open societies who worship violence and destruction and who hate their country, its traditions, its heritage, and its establishment. His mother wrote Reed: "It gives me shock to have your father's son say he cares nothing for his country and his flag." The last speech Reed made, the one to the Baku conference, sneered at American freedom and urged the delegates: "Don't trust American capitalists... There is but one road to freedom. Unite with the Russian workers and peasants whose Red Army conquers the troops of the foreign imperialists."

Reed didn't object to Lenin's secret police, to the Red Terror, to the slaughter of innocent hostages. He defended these measures. He objected to the fact that Lenin made compromises with the capitalist world so that the Soviet Union could survive. Reed's preference was war to the knife.

A third lie was the depiction of the so-called Red Scare right after World War I in the United States.

Louise Bryant is haled before a congressional committee and badgered about her religious beliefs. We are not told that she and John Reed begged to appear so they could propagandize for the Lenin-Trotsky regime.

One sees shadowy American agents lurking in corners, mistreating honest dissenters. Wholesale arrests of radicals did occur. They came in the wake of bombings and attempted bombings of the Mayor of Seattle, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, the Mayor and Police Chief of New York City, financier J.P. Morgan, the Attorney General of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, and Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Most of these bombings were failures, merely killing maids, postal employees and bystanders. They contained such endearing messages as: "Class war is on.... We will have to murder; we will kill...." For the first

Louise Bryant

time, America faced internal terrorism at unacceptable levels.

The authorities arrested hundreds on charges of sedition and resorted to wholesale deportation of dangerous illegal aliens. No doubt there were excesses and injustices. But the danger was scotched. My personal sympathies are with the victims and the intended victims.

The fourth big lie was the depiction of the John Reed-Louise Bryant love affair as one of the great romantic stories of our century.

Certainly, John Reed was a warm-hearted, exuberant man with infectious charm. When my father, Walter Weyl, a founding editor of the *New Republic*, wrote Reed praising *Ten Days That Shook The World*, Reed replied in part:

"Yours is probably the first kind word—or any kind of word—from the "outside world," so to speak, from a person whose judgment I respect. Thank you ever so much for writing me. You make me feel very warm and happy."

Lincoln Steffens was charmed with Reed. Others dissented. Max Eastman, one of the handsomest Americans of his generation, thought Reed had a face "like a potato." M.N. Roy, one of the most brilliant of the Asian Communist leaders, despised Reed as shallow, an intriguer, and "a back-

slapper." Others said he was an inveterate cheer-leader. Upton Sinclair unjustly called him "the playboy of the revolution." George Kennan admitted his magnificent literary talent," but realized that he knew nothing about the Marxism he spouted. Kennan found him "provocative, inconsiderate, intolerant, needlessly offensive." His hatred of America "had in it all the irritating brashness of ignorant and disrespectful youth with no redeeming modesty..."

Everybody made excuses for Reed because he was so young. He was 33. At 23, Newton had discovered the laws of gravitation and differential and integral calculus. At the same age, William Pitt had become Prime Minister of Great Britain. Before 33, Napoleon had taken power in France, defeated Austria and conquered northern Italy. There are hundreds of other examples. Reed wasn't that young. He simply never grew up to manhood.

Yet Walter Lippmann was grossly unfair when he wrote Reed that he acted like "a fool and a cad,... trying to hang on to your position by your eyelids and to tell the truth I have never taken your radicalism the least bit seriously."

Reed *was* deeply committed. He suffered privation and hardship and perhaps hastened his own death for his convictions. He refused to live in Petrograd in the lavish style of a revolutionary bureaucrat, but instead lived like the starving workers. He was revolted in his last trip, the one to Baku, to see Zinoviev, Radek and other Lenin proteges feasting on fine meats and Georgian wines with specially imported prostitutes while the railroad stations were lined with thousands of peasants, dying of hunger and typhus.

Reed's learning was superficial; his faith was perhaps a tawdry thing, but he dedicated his life to what he believed and accepted hunger, prison and finally death. That is more than anyone can say for Walter Lippmann.

I see that these last paragraphs have little to do with my assertion that the Reed-Bryant affair and marriage wasn't one of the great love stories of all time. The film misrepresents the adulterous relationship between Louise (then married to Reed) and Eugene O'Neill. Louise was unstable and deceitful. She habitually lied about her age and, though of working-class origin, claimed royal descent. She also lied consistently to John Reed.

Perhaps Reed was unable to satisfy her sexual needs. At any rate, she told Eugene O'Neill that Reed accepted her affair with the playwright because he (Reed) was impotent.

She returned from Russia ahead of Reed, discovered to her fury that O'Neill had married, demanded peremptorly that he ditch his new wife and live with her in New York. She apparently convinced O'Neill that she had never had sexual relations with Reed! That Reed secretly condoned the O'Neill liaison (about which he was probably totally unaware!) and, when O'Neill, finally and after much inner torment, refused all these demands, she spread the story that he had pursued her to New York, slept disconsolately on her doorstep, and was an incurable alcoholic. She told another of her lovers, Andrew Dasburg, that she hoped John Reed would stay in Russia because she didn't want to have to take care of him.

If she was less than a perfect wife, she made an ideal widow. She carried the torch for John Reed for several years. She gave public speeches in praise of the Soviet promised land, but told intimate friends privately that Reed had been heartsick and disillusioned and that he had died in the belief that he had given his life for an inhuman despotism. ⊠

Nathaniel Weyl needs no introduction to any American conservative over 30. An adopted Southerner residing in Florida, he has published a dozen books on communism, history, and human intelligence, and written for every respectable conservative journal in Europe and America.

The Partisan Dictionary

Adult — An adjective applied to movies and books whose entire message was previously provided, free of charge, on the walls of boy's toilets in grammar schools.

Code words — Terms which are used only where people are too intimidated to speak plainly.

Discrimination — To a conservative, this is the exclusion of a person on the basis of anything except the amount of money he has. To a liberal, it is exclusion based on anything but the opinion of a federal judge.

Football — A sport dominated by white Southerners and blacks. This may be because the political history of these groups gives them a special empathy with the thing that gets kicked.

Hell — The place where the age-old question, "Who gives a damn?" will be answered definitely.

Modesty — The accomplishment that is hardest to flaunt.

Satan — An ancient craftsman whose function is being usurped by modern ingenuity.

—Robert W. Whitaker

BETWEEN A ROCK & A HARD PLACE

Thomas Fleming

Ersatz Christianity

The allure of space travel and science fiction is convincing testimony to our need to believe that there really is something out there. But the heathen nonsense of Erich von Daniken and Dr. Carl Sagan is only the most obvious sign that we are experiencing a recrudescence of pagan superstition. During the past two decades, a time when most major Christian denominations have been losing members, a whole garden of sects has sprung up over night —as fast-growing and bizarre as exotic fungi.

Equally significant are the social movements that have taken on all the trappings of religion. Civil Rights demonstrations are become crusades; crowds at war protests were swayed by fiery jeremiads, held silent vigils, and indulged in mock fasting. Supporters of equal rights for women, spurning the patriarchal traditions of the *Bible*, reverted to older, Earth-centered cults, finding models for their own performances in the Harpies and Furies of classical paganism.

We cannot, after all, do without religion. Edward O. Wilson—the farthest thing in the world from an old believer—concedes that "religion cannot be defeated by those who merely cast it down" (*On Human Nature*). Marxism, Esalen, est, Scientology, and Mary Kay Cosmetics are make-shift cults devised to satisfy the longings of a people that has lost faith in its own God. As Wilson wryly observes, cult leaders "receive a degree of obedience... that would wring smiles of admiration from the most fanatical Sufi *Shayk.*"

We are witnessing, everywhere in the modern world, the collective delusion that we can live without faith and the simultaneous emergence of fantastic religious surrogates. The outbreak of cults is generally a clear signal of a threatened social order: a secure and stable people does not, like the children of Israel, go whoring after strange gods. It is a dismal spectacle: large numbers of people abandoning the faith of their fathers, only to be taken in by one of the huckstering messiahs on the make for followers.

The mark of a traditional religion is the depth of its roots, the degree to which it informs the life of a whole people. There was a time when "the Christian year" was more than the title of a book. The seasons of Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, and Trinity gave the year a dramatic rhythm and a primary education into the mysteries, while the great festival days—Christmas, Easter, All Saints—were occasions for mingling sacred joy with earthly rejoicing. Even a dry month like August, when many Episcopalians close up church, has three red letter days.

The holiday calendar actually in use in the United States is a quite different matter: instead of Advent we have "only 30 more shopping days till Xmas"; long weekends—the relics of old patriotic holidays—replace the endless round of saints' days; and—as for the two Christian holidays observed—we keep them in ways our ancestors would not have understood. The greatest solemnity associated with Christmas is found in the prophecies of economic forecasters, for whom a good Christmas is measured in the volume of retail sales. Old Scrooge's complaint has come true: Christmas *is* an excuse for picking a man's pocket every December 25th.

It is not just that we have allowed merchants—many of whom are not Christian and can hardly be blamed—to cheapen our celebration. Even apart from commercialization, we have turned our religious holidays into the practice of strange cults. Of course, many elements of traditional Christmas festivities are derived from pagan celebrations. That is part of what is meant by saying the roots run deep. The yule log, mistletoe, and Christmas tree, so long as they were kept in their place as accessories, harmed no one's faith, but it is hard to discern any Christian element at all in our public celebration of Christmas.

Imagine the reaction of a refugee from New Guinea, who had arrived in America in time to get the full effect of our holiday season: the bright lights, the hordes of shoppers spending money "as if there were no tomorrow," all the preparations to celebrate the arrival of a jolly old man, flying in (usually by plane, on the kids' TV shows) with a load of precious gifts for everyone. The Melanesian visitor, far from being taken aback, would recognize Santa's pack for what it is—"Cargo."

Most people are familiar with the cargo cults of Melanesia. In general, they are the response of Melanesians threatened by superior Western civilization. Unable to maintain their faith in the old gods that have failed them, and impressed by the constant arrival of cargo from far away, prophets appear from time to time, preaching a new golden age, when all dark skins will be white, and when the mighty ancestors or gods will return with a cargo of goods in a great ship—or, more recently, an airplane.

The cannibal immigrant would recognize the affinities between the cults of America and the cults of New Guinea: not only the cargo of gifts, but even the extravagant expenditures—the followers of certain cults slaughtered all their cattle in expectation of the millenium. The Christian veneer would not disturb him at all, since devotees of the Taro cults used to pray to *Jesu Kerisu Kaena-embo*, "Jesus Christ the man for us," and those affected with the "Vailala Madness" reverenced a portrait of George V as a depiction of Jehovah, the younger brother of Jesus.

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WHISTLING DIXIE

J.R. Vanover

The Sense of "Southernizing"

For as long as people have been writing about Southern character—and that's getting to be a pretty long time now—they've been inclined to mention Southern individualism. From Thomas Jefferson's letter to the Marquis de Chastellux to Charlie Daniels' "Long-haired Country Boy," Southerners have been inclined to mention or exemplify this trait themselves. W.J. Cash has probably discussed it most thoroughly, in *The Mind of the South*. He did not entirely (or even mostly) approve, but his description strikes me as right on the money.

Things might have been different if history had given George Fitzhugh a few more decades to work on the ideas he was developing in *Cannibals All!* and *Sociology for the South* —might have been, but I doubt it. To the extent that Southerners bought Fitzhugh's anti-individualist philosophy in the 1850s, I suspect it was because it gave them an elegant rationale for holding onto their private property (i.e., their slaves). Certainly the variety of pro-slavery thought that took off from Jeffersonian—and therefore individualistic—premises was more influential, if less interesting to the intellectual historian.

George Pullen Jackson, in his book *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands*, gives us something that can stand as a sort of parable for how Southern individualism works. He introduces us to the verb "to Southernize," and shows that it was current in the nineteenth century. Many of the Southern gospel songs he studied had their origins, he shows, in the North. But, when they were reprinted for use in the South, the arrangements were often changed—"Southernized." Often the publication indicated who did it: "Southernized by John Doe."

What this meant was that each of the non-melody parts was made more complicated, and more interesting. The bass, for instance, instead of droning away on three or four notes as the New England version had him doing, was given something like a different melody of his own to play around with down under the melody proper. The same was done for the other back-up parts: none was entirely subordinate; none was boring. Everyone got to show off sometime.

Jackson points out that this often worked to the detriment of the ensemble. It was less harmonious, more chaotic than the original, un-Southernized version. But after all—these people were not singing for an audience. They were singing for themselves and for the glory of God. If someone wanted to sing with them, instead of standing aside and finding fault with the harmony, he would soon realize that the Southern way was more fun for the singers, whatever impression it might make on observers.

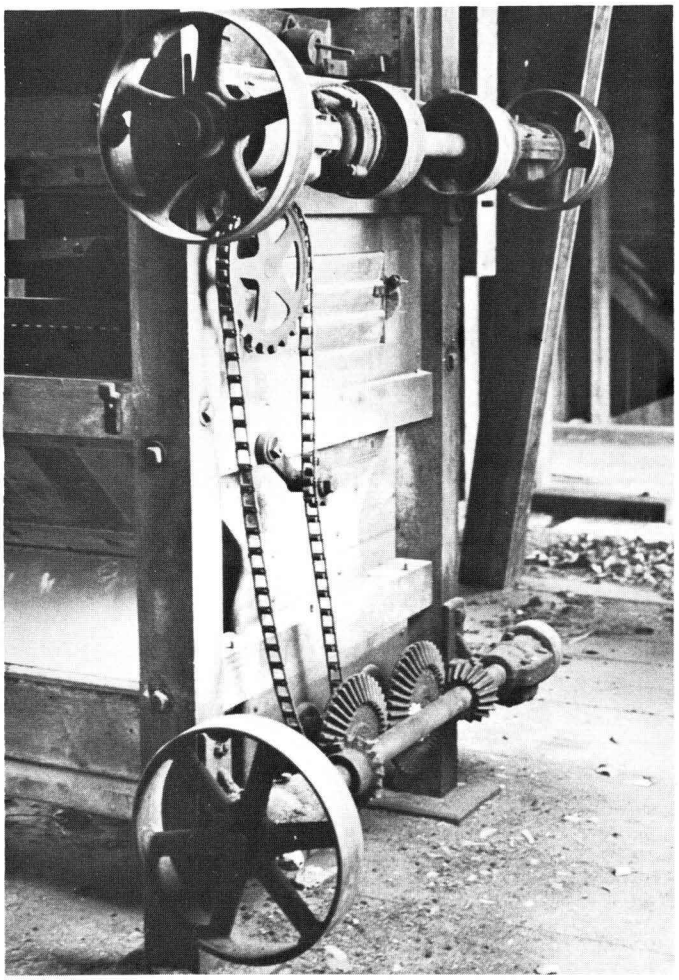
The point, I should think, is obvious enough. The Southern way in many things has been to make allowances for individuals. Nothing can make a bass into a tenor, but that does not mean he can't do something interesting. There has never been a shortage of critics to point out that this arrangement is, really, sort of messy; that it could be made more pleasant for the audience with a little more coordination, some regulation here and there, some small sacrifices of individuality on the part of the subordinate choristers. But Southerners just will *not* see their parts as subordinate. If it comes to that, we'd just as soon not sing at all. And if our critics knew as much about *singing* as they claim to know about *music*, Southerners feel, they would see why Southernizing is something the whole country could use more of.

The Southern way in many things has been to make allowances for individuals. Nothing can make a bass into a tenor, but that does not mean he can't do something interesting.

Between a Rock and a Hard Place
(continued from page 47)

Santa Claus, the Easter Bunny, the Great Pumpkin—these are the dominant religious images of our time. They are not entirely bad. Christmas is still the celebration of love, but it is the only kind of love we seem willing to understand, a love that can be bought and sold, that can be measured as an index of commercial success. Our commercial cults may actually offer a welcome "liberation" from the compulsion to make money. It may be good for us to show our contempt for wealth by throwing it away on useless junk once or twice a year. In this sense, our official holidays and cargo cults are benign social growths. But within them are the murderous little cells of malignancy which grow, under the right conditions, into Erhardt's est seminars and the People's Temple in Jonestown.

Once a people has repudiated its real and rooted faith, it has no other recourse but the false and meretricious ecstasy offered by cults. Man does not live, despite the claims of scientists and scientific socialists, by bread alone, and when the Word of God is taken from him, he must turn to whatever spirits present themselves—to Carl Sagan's gods of space, to Santa Claus with his precious cargo, and—when he despairs—to the Father of Lies himself. ⊠

Scenes from the South

George's Mill near Lexington, South Carolina, was in active operation as a grist mill from the 1920's to the 1960's. On the same site was built in the 1840's one of the first textile mills in the Midlands of South Carolina.